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PREHISTORIC ANNALS

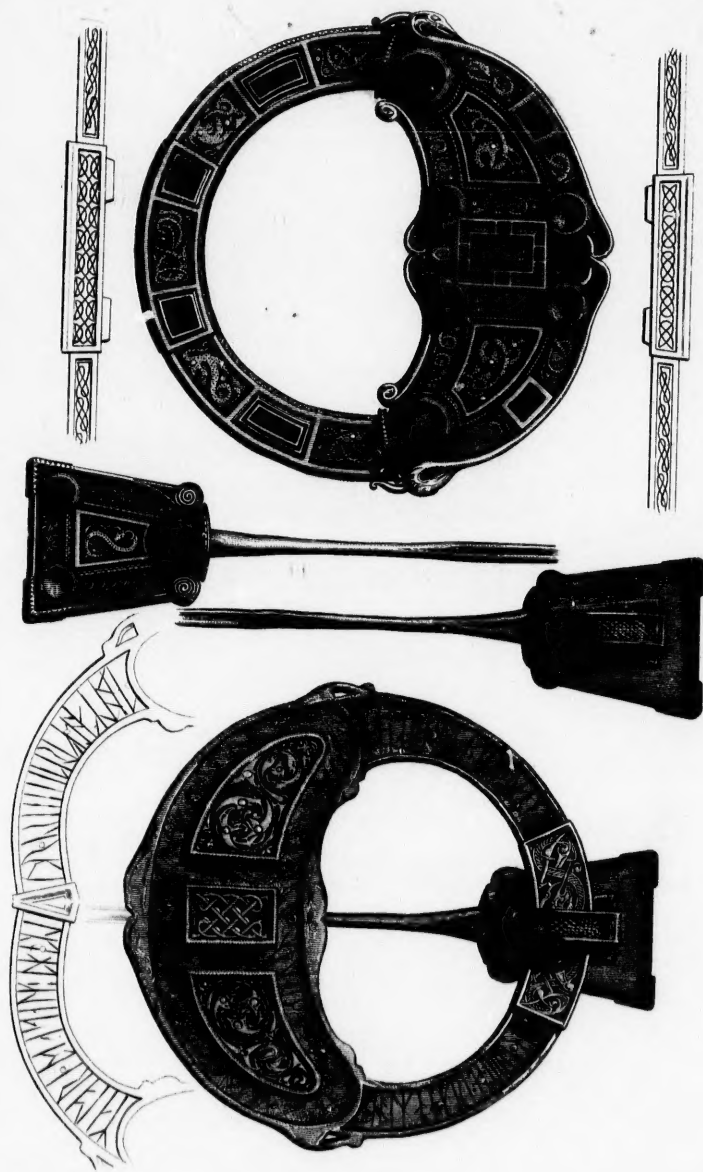
OF

SCOTLAND.

VOLUME II.







James F. Peters, L.L.D. Del.

Wells and Co. engravers, Glasgow.

THE HUNTERSTON RUNIC BROOCH

A. 39. 6

PREHISTORIC ANNALS
OF
SCOTLAND.

BY

DANIEL WILSON, LL.D.

HISTORY AND ENGLISH LITERATURE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO;
AUTHOR OF "PREHISTORIC MAN," ETC.

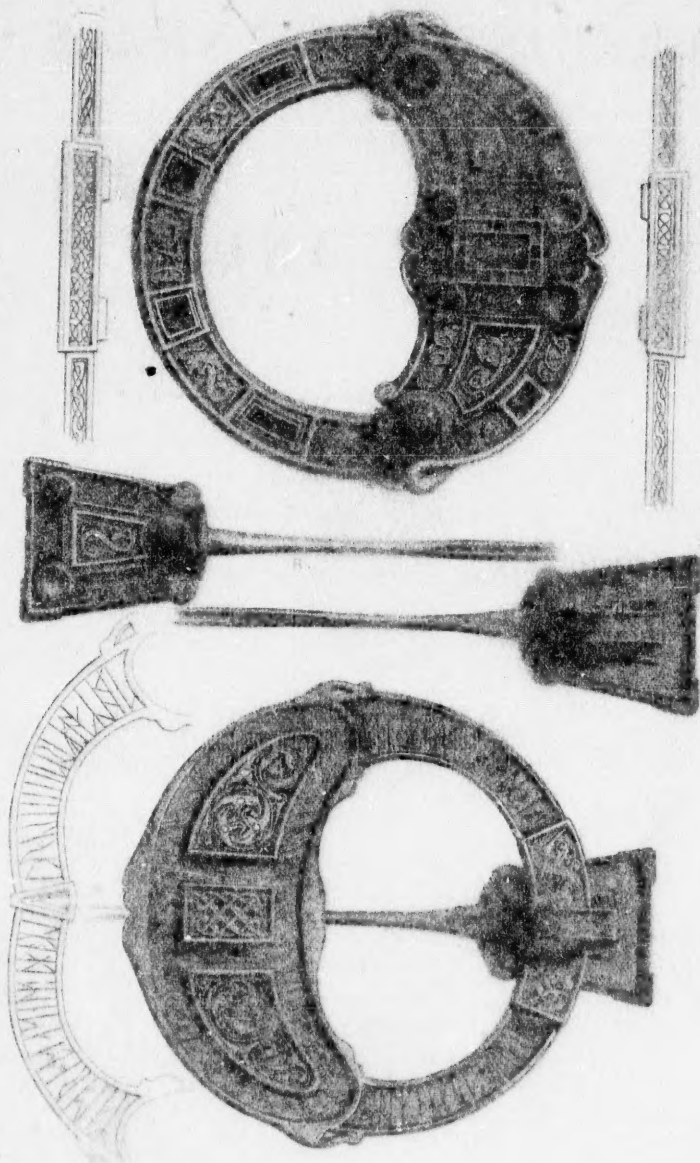
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

London and Cambridge:
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1863.

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THE HUNTEPSTER COLLECTION

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PART III.

THE IRON PERIOD.

	PAGE
CHAP. I. THE INTRODUCTION OF IRON,	1
II. THE ROMAN INVASION,	24
III. STRONGHOLDS,	85
IV. WEAPONS, IMPLEMENTS, AND POTTERY,	116
V. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS,	131
VI. SEPULCHRES OF THE IRON PERIOD,	149

PART IV.

THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

CHAP. I. HISTORICAL DATA,	167
II. SCULPTURED STANDING-STONES,	209
III. THE NORRIE'S LAW RELICS,	250
IV. SCOTO-SCANDINAVIAN RELICS,	264
V. ANGLO-SAXON RELICS,	316
VI. AMUSEMENTS,	334
VII. PRIMITIVE ECCLESIOLOGY,	362
VIII. MEDIEVAL ECCLESIOLOGY,	394
IX. ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES,	454
X. MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES,	496
XI. CONCLUSION,	524
INDEX,	537

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF VOL. II.

PART III.—THE IRON PERIOD.

FIG.		
	PLATE XVII.—HUNTERSTON RUNIC BROOCH,	<i>Frontispiece</i>
105.	Aureus of Antoninus Pins,	PAGE 31
106.	Coin of Comius,	42
107.	Inscribed Roman Tablet, from the Castlehill Station, Antonine Wall,	43
108.	Base of a Column, Castlehill,	45
109.	Iron Spear-Head, from Newstead, Roxburghshire,	51
110.	Bronze Lamp, found at Currie,	60
111.	Roman Oculist's Medicine Stamp, Tranent, East Lothian,	65
112.	Roman Oculist's Stamp—Impression,	66
113.	Roman Altar, from Birrens, Annandale,	70
114.	Roman Sepulchral Tablet, Birrens,	73
115.	Roman Potters' Stamps,	76
116.	Dentated Bronze Ring, Merlsford, Fifeshire,	77
117.	Iron Forge-Tongs, from Glenorchy,	85
118.	Tableman, from Crannoge, Loch of Forfar,	101
119.	Bone Comb, Burgh of Burghar,	106
120.	How of Hoxay, Orkney,	108
121.	Plan of Doorway, How of Hoxay,	109
122.	Iron Dagger and Bone Pin, East Langton, Mid-Lothian,	118
123.	Glazed Urns, from North Berwick and Memrie,	119
124.	Lamp and Iron Implements, Cockburnspath,	122
125.	Bronze Sword-Sheath,	129
126.	Silver Chain, Caledonian Canal,	133
127.	Bronze Snake Bracelet, Pitalpin, Angusshire,	136
128.	Bronze Ornament,	138
129.	Bronze Snake Armlet,	139
130.	Bronze Head-Ring, Cairn of Clanmore,	142
131.	Head-Ring or Diadem, Stitchel, Roxburghshire,	146
132.	Bronze Armlet, Plinton Castle, Kirkcudbright, [on Plate X.]	147
133.	Iron Spear-Head, Melford, Fifeshire,	150
134.	Iron Umbo, Ballindalloch, Morayshire,	154
	PLATE XI.—BRONZE HORSE FURNITURE,	157
135.	Enamelled Bridle-bit, Birrenswork, Annandale,	157

FIG.	PAGE
136-138. Bronze Horse Furniture, Middleby,	157
139. Bronze Harness Rings, Middleby,	157
PLATE XII.—CATT STANE, Mid-Lothian,	209
140. The Catt Stane, with Excavation,	210
141. Newton Stone in Garioch, Aberdeenshire,	214
PLATE XIII.—BRESSAY OGHAM STONE,	215

PART IV.—THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

142. Standing-Stone, Hawkhill, Alloa,	217
143. Dunnichen Stone, Angusshire,	221
144. Silver Scale-Plate, Norrie's Law,	222
145. Bronze Crescent Plate, Balmacellellan,	228
146. Ornament on Crescent Plate,	228
147. Bronze Mirror, Balmacellellan,	229
148. Meigle Stone, Angusshire,	233
PLATE XIV.—ST. ANDREWS SARCOFAGUS,	235
149. Celtic Powder Horn,	237
150. Logie Ogham Stone,	238
PLATE XV.—BRESSAY STONE,	240
151. Bishop Patrick's Tomb, Iona,	245
152. Cross of Lauchlan M'Fingon, Iona,	248
153. Silver Bodkins, Norrie's Law,	257
PLATE XVI.—NORRIE'S LAW SILVER RELICS,	258
154. Torquated Ring Fibula, Norrie's Law,	258
155. Embossed Silver Ornament, Norrie's Law,	258
156. Primitive Gold Coins, Cairnmuir,	261
157. Oval Brooch, Pict's House, Caithness,	265
158. Sculptured Stone, Invergowrie,	266
PLATE XVIII.—SCOTTISH BROOCHES,	277
159. Dunipace Silver Brooch,	277
160. Runes in St. Mollo's Cave, Holy Island,	280
161. Runic Inscription, St. Mollo's Cave, Holy Island,	281
162. Kirk Michael Cross, Isle of Man,	296
163. Kirk Braddan Cross, Isle of Man,	298
164. Bronze Ring-Pin, Sandwick, Orkney,	302
PLATE XIX.—BRONZE PINS,	302
165. Ornamental Ring-Pin, Heisker, Hebrides,	302
166. Plated Copper Ornament, Pier-o-Waal, Orkney,	301
167. Bronze Pin, from Pict's House at Burray,	302
168. Bronze Pin, Inverkeillor Moss, Forfar,	302
169. Bronze Pin, Lunan Bay, Forfar,	302

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ix

PAGE

157
157
209
210
214
215

217

221

222

228

228

229

233

235

237

238

240

245

248

257

258

258

258

261

265

266

277

277

280

281

296

298

302

302

302

301

302

302

302

FIG.

170. Oval Brooch, Links of Pier-o-waal, Orkney,
171. Comb, Pier-o-waal, Orkney,
172. Animal-Shaped Ewer,
173. Acus of Dunipace Brooch,
174. Glasgow Bronze Brooch, [on Plate XVIII.]
175. Ross-shire Bronze Brooch, [on Plate XVIII.]

PLATE XX.—GLENLYON BROOCH,

176. Shaft of an Anglo-Saxon Cross, Hoddam,
177. Bronze Ring with Anglo-Saxon Runes,
178. Eccles Cross, Berwickshire,
179. Table-Stones,
180. Lewis Chess-Piece : King,
181. Lewis Chess-Piece : Queen,
182. Lewis Chess-Piece : Warden,
183. Lewis Chess-Piece : Knight,
184. Chess-Piece, Isle of Skye,
185. Chess-Piece : Queen ; Penicuik Collection,
186. Ancient Seal, Abbey of Holyrood,
187. Girth House of Orphir,
188. Oratory on Inchcolm,
189. Vault of Inchcolm Oratory,
190. Doorway, Round Tower of Abernethy,
191. Doorway, Round Tower of Brechin,
192. Matrix, Chapter Seal of Brechin,
193. Church of St. Magnus, Egilsbay,
194. Seal of Thor Longus,
195. Abbot Crawford's Arms, Holyrood Abbey,
196. Section of Arch Mouldings, St. Rule's Church, St. Andrews,
197. Section of Pier, St. Rule's,
198. Chancel Arch, St. Rule's,
199. Window, Corstorphine Church,
200. Grotesque Corbel, Trinity College Church, Edinburgh,
201. Chantry Door, Bothwell Collegiate Church,
202. Window, Dunkeld Cathedral,
203. Window, St. Michael's, Linlithgow,
204. Bishop Kennedy's Arms, St. Giles's, Edinburgh,
205. Boss of St. Elol's Chapel, St. Giles's,
206. Rothesay Chapel, St. Giles's,
207. Ambry, Kennedy's Close,
208. Ambry, Guise Palace,
209. Monogram, Blyth's Close,
210. Masons' Marks, Roslin Choir,
211. Hebrew Bronze Matrix,

PLATE XXI.—KILMICHAEL-GLASSRIE BELL,

PAGE

305
306
308
312
313
313
314
329
331
332
335
343
343
350
355
357
358
363
368
370
371
376
380
384
390
401
407
409
409
410
422
424
426
427
427
430
432
434
440
441
442
446
460
461

VOL. II.

b

FIG.	PAGE
212. Bell of St. Columba,	462
213. Porthshire Bell,	466
214. Clog-rinny, or Bell of St. Ninian,	468
<i>PLATE XXII.—GUTHRIE BELL,</i>	470
215. Bronze Figure on the Guthrie Bell,	471
216. Quigrieh, or Crosier of St. Fillan,	477
217. The Bachuill More,	478
218. Ancient Episcopal Crosier, Fortrose Cathedral,	479
219. Oaken Crosier, Cathedral of Kirkwall,	480
<i>PLATE XXIII.—DUNVEGAN CUP,</i>	484
220. Wooden Mether,	485
<i>PLATE XXIV.—KENNET ENAMELLED CIBORIUM,</i>	488
221. Mazer, Castle of Merdon, near Hursly,	489
222. Mazer of the Fourteenth Century,	490
223. Inscription on Mazer,	491
224. Brass Pyn,	494
225. Gold Ring, Flodden Field,	497
226. Bronze Ewers,	499
<i>PLATE XXV.—LEYS TENURE HORN,</i>	501
227. Medieval Pottery, North-Berwick Abbey, East Lothian,	502
228. Perforated Pottery, Penicuik House,	503
229. Celtic or Elfin Pipe,	504
230. Ancient Highland Dirks,	506
231. Two-Handed Scottish Claymore,	507
232. Hawthornden Sword,	507
233. Scottish Two-Handed Sword,	511
234. Bannockburn Battle Axe,	512
235. Sculpture, Edinburgh Castle, Mons Meg,	513
236. Thumbkin,	517
237. Joug, Applegirth,	518
238. The Branks, Moray House,	520
239. Witch's Bridle, Forfar,	521
240. Pallas Armata,	525

PAGE

.	462
.	466
.	468
.	470
.	471
.	477
.	478
.	479
.	480
.	484
.	485
.	488
.	489
.	490
.	491
.	494
.	497
.	499
.	501
.	502
.	503
.	504
.	506
.	507
.	507
.	511
.	512
.	513
.	517
.	518
.	520
.	521
.	525

Lightward aspire : nor think the utmost height
 Of an attainable success is won ;
 Nor even that the mighty spirits, gone
 With the bright past, in their enduring flight
 So won their passage toward the infinite,
 That they may stand on their far heights alone,
 A distant glory, dazzling to the sight,
 In which all hope of mastery is o'erthrown.
 No height of daring is so high, but higher
 The earnest soul may yet find grace to climb ;
 Truth springeth out of truth ; the loftiest flyer,
 That soareth on the sweep of thought sublime,
 Resteth at length ; and still beyond doth guess
 Truth infinite as God toward which to press.



PREHISTORIC CHRONICLES.

PART III.—THE IRON PERIOD.

"Arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvenæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, et minima contentos nocte Britannos."
JUVENAL II. 161.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTRODUCTION OF IRON.

THE changes consequent on the introduction of Iron, to a people already familiar with the smelting of tin and copper ores, and the fabrication of weapons and implements of bronze, were not necessarily of a radical character, and were probably first experienced in the gradual acquirement of the new metal from foreign sources. Had bronze been obtainable in sufficient quantities to admit of its application to the numerous purposes for which iron has since been used, there was nothing to prevent the accomplishment of nearly all to which European civilisation has since attained, without the knowledge of the new metal. The opposite, however, was the case. The metal was costly and scarce, and hence one of the most obvious sources of the lengthened period over which we have seen reason to believe that the archaic era extended. Throughout that whole period metal in every form was a rare and valued luxury; and it was as such that iron, the most widely diffused,

the most abundant, and most useful of all the metals, was first introduced into the British Isles. This is sufficiently accounted for from the fact, that iron rarely, if ever, occurs in nature in a metallic state; and that it requires great labour and intense heat to fuse it.

The age of iron was introduced by a transition-period, occupying possibly as long a time as that which marked the gradual introduction of the era of bronze; but it was not characterized by results of the same direct value. So long as the knowledge of the new metal merely extended to the substitution, by barter or other means, of iron for bronze weapons or implements, its influence could be little more noteworthy than may be the substitution of percussion-caps for flints in the British standing army, to some archæologist or historian of the year A.D. 3000. But even such traffic, no doubt, tended through time to make metals more abundant, and metallic weapons and implements more readily attainable; so that the artisan and fabricator were at length enabled to dispense entirely with the primeval stone hammer and hatchet, and greatly to extend the application of the new and useful material.

It was only when iron had become thus plentiful that it could be productive of any effective change on the characteristics of the races by whom it was used, and that the Iron Period could therefore be said to be fairly inaugurated. But though iron is the most abundant of all the metals, and was the latest to be introduced into use, it is at the same time the most perishable, rapidly oxidizing, unless preserved by unusually favourable circumstances. Accordingly, few iron relics, properly pertaining to the closing Pagan era, have been found in such a state of preservation as to enable us to make the use of them, in judging of the skill of their fabricators, which has been done with those of the

Bronze Period. The new and more useful metal, however, did not supersede the gold and bronze in their application to purposes of personal adornment; neither did it put a stop to the manufacture of pottery, to the use of bronze in the construction of vessels for sacred or domestic purposes, nor to those sepulchral rites by which so many evidences of primitive arts and manners have been chronicled for our instruction. It rather increased all of them, superadding the additional material of silver, wherewith to multiply the personal ornaments which extending civilisation and refinement more largely demanded. The superior fitness of the new metal for the construction of weapons of war would, no doubt, be first discovered and turned to account. The absence of the guard on all the swords of the Bronze Period, to which attention has been directed, no doubt originated mainly in the mode of using the weapon, which its own capabilities rendered indispensable. The fence and clash of weapons consequent on modern swordsmanship, in which the sword is made to supply both offensive and defensive arms, was altogether incompatible with weapons of cast bronze, liable to shiver like glass at a violent blow. Experience would soon teach the old swordsman the true use of his weapon; and so long as he had only to contend with foes equally armed, he would deem his graceful leaf-shaped sword and his massy spear of bronze the perfect models of a warrior's arms. But while the changes which we have aimed at tracing out in the previous section were progressing slowly but effectively within our sea-girt isle, very remarkable occurrences were affecting the continent of Europe, and extending their influences towards its remotest limits. Carthage had risen from a Tyrian colony, planted on the site of an older Phœnician settlement on the African coast, to be one of the chief commercial and maritime states of the world. The

younger builders on the banks of the Tiber had founded the capital destined twice to form the centre of universal empire. Rome and Carthage had come into collision, as was inevitable, according to the notions of these elder times, which held it impossible that two ambitious states should exist as neighbours. The Punic Wars followed, and for upwards of a century—till 147 B.C. when the African capital was razed to the ground,—the seat of war was far removed from the British Isles. The Second Punic War carried the arms of the rival republics into Spain, and then possibly some faint rumour of it may have reached the Cassiterides, stimulating for a time the trade of their ports, and checking it again, as disasters thickened around the devoted African capital. Spain still continued the seat of war after the total overthrow of the Carthaginian power; and during the intestine struggles which followed in the Jugurthian war, there appeared on the northern frontiers of Italy, hosts of the Teutones, Cimbri, and other northern barbarians. By these several Roman armies were defeated, and the growing power threatened with annihilation from this unexpected source, at the very time when it seemed to be without a rival. From an incidental notice of Polybius we learn the fact that those northern tribes were already familiar with iron, and possessed of weapons of that metal, though apparently ignorant of the art of converting it into steel. One of the earliest European sources of iron, of which any definite notice occurs, was the country of the Norici, lying to the south of the Danube; still famous for its mineral wealth; and to that people the invention of the art of converting iron into steel is ascribed. Noricum was conquered by Augustus, and in his time Noric swords were as celebrated at Rome as the Damascus blades or Andrea Ferraras in more recent times. To this source, therefore,

we should probably look for some of the earliest supplies of iron weapons to the Gaulish and Germanic tribes. Polybius also refers to the country of the Norici as abounding in gold; so that they appear to have excelled in metallurgic arts, and may have supplied the arms with which the Teutones and the Cimbri invaded the Roman frontiers.

The argument deduced from the dissimilarity of some of the oldest European names of the metals, confirms the evidence derived from other sources in proof of the ignorance of the metallurgic arts by some even of the Aryan nomades on their first settlement in Europe. The same line of argument, however, adds strong confirmation to the conclusion suggested here, that the Celtæ had obtained considerable mastery of them before they were brought into direct intercourse and collision with the growing power of Rome. The Saxon *gold* differs not more essentially from the Greek χρυσος, than that from the Latin *aurum*; or iron, from σιδηρος, or *ferrum*; but when we come to examine the Celtic names of the metals it is otherwise. The Celtic terms are:—Gold—Gael. *or*; golden, *orail*; Welsh, *aur*; Lat. *aurum*. Silver—Gael. *airgiod*; made of silver, *airgiodach*; Welsh, *ariant*; Lat. *argentum*, derived in the Celtic from *arg*, white or milk, like the Greek ἀργος, whence they also formed their ἀργυρος. The Latin *ferrum* and the English *iron* spring indirectly from the same root:—Gael. *iarunn*; Welsh, *haiarn*; Sax. *iren*; Dan. *iern*. Nor with the older metals is it greatly different; as bronze: Gael. *umha* or *prais*; Welsh, *pres*,—whence our English *brass*,—a name bearing no very indistinct resemblance to the Roman *æs*. Lead, in like manner, has its peculiar Gaelic name, *luaidhe*, like the Saxon *læd*, while the Welsh, *plwm*, closely approximates to the Latin, *plumbum*. It may be argued that the Latin is the root

instead of the offshoot of these Celtic names, but the direct historic evidence, and the traditional references to the arms of the barbarian invaders of Italy who dictated terms in the Roman Capitol, prove that the Celtic and Teutonic races of northern Europe had acquired an independent mastery of the art of working in metals. To the same movement of the nations lying to the north of the Alps which led to the Gaulish invasion of Italy, and threatened the destruction of Rome itself, may be referred the irruption of some of the newer tribes into southern Britain. But with the first authentic glimpses obtained from classic writers we perceive that its population was already composed of diverse elements, and had derived its arts from various sources. The south-eastern shores, first visited by Julius Caesar, were occupied by tribes bearing a close affinity to those of the neighbouring coasts of Gaul; and these again are referred to by Caesar as distinguished both in language and customs from the southern Gauls. Again, the western peninsula retained evidence of its intercourse with the most ancient maritime nations of the Mediterranean; and the country of the Silures betrayed traces among its population of a distinct, and as has been supposed, an Iberian origin. In modern times we find the same region occupied by Cymric representatives of the ancient Britons, preserving their own language and many traditional myths and literate memorials bearing no relation to those of ancient Iberia; and though presenting affinities to the Gaelic races of the north and of Ireland, yet not more so than is traceable between the ancient Greeks and Latins. Guided by the evidences of physical character, language, and geographical distribution, the probabilities are in favour of an ancient Gaelic population; followed at a long subsequent date by a Cymric one; and still later, intruded upon by Belgic and other

continental tribes. It is probable that each of those colonizations or conquests was accompanied by the introduction into Britain of improved arts and agricultural resources; and to this probably, fully as much as to the alteration of the old metallurgists' materials, may be traced the most novel characteristics of the Iron Period. The gold and the bronze are still there, but the shapes which express to us the intellectual progress of their artificers and owners are essentially changed. The indefiniteness of archaic decoration gives place to forms and ornaments as positive and characteristic as any in which we recognise the expressive types of medieval art, or the changing fashions of the Elizabethan and Louis Quatorze styles. It is important that we should fix, if possible, some approximate date for this change, when for the first time our inquiries bring us in contact with ascertained epochs and recorded facts. From this, as from a central point, it may perhaps yet be possible to reckon backward as well as forward, and at least secure a basis for future observations.

When iron first became known to the native Britons its value was naturally estimated in accordance with its rarity, and it was applied to such uses as those to which we now devote the precious metals. Converted into personal ornaments, it formed rare, if not beautiful trinkets, and in the shape of ring-money it even superseded or supplemented the older gold. Julius Cæsar speaks of the Britons as using such a rude currency; but not only may we infer from other evidence, already referred to, that this did not arise, at that comparatively late period, from its extreme rarity; but, from what Mr. Hawkins has shown, as the result of a collation of British and Continental mss., it appears that we have been hitherto misled by an incorrect version of the text of Cæsar, which he traces to Scaliger, in the seventeenth century.

All the older mss. referred to give the passage thus : "Utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo."¹ The passage, therefore, instead of conflicting with other undoubted evidence of the use of a gold currency by the Britons, fully confirms it. Herodian indeed speaks still later of the Britons wearing "iron about their bellies and necks, which they esteem as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold." But we have abundant evidence that they were familiar with the value and beauty of gold ; and in applying to the narrative of Cæsar for evidence of the civilisation of the Britons of his day, we must not forget that his personal opportunities of observation were limited to a small section of country, and to the natives seen under the most disadvantageous circumstances ; while the polished and haughty Roman was little likely to trouble himself with attempting any very impartial estimate of what were in his eyes only different phases of barbarism.

The fact has already been adverted to, that all descriptions of the weapons of the Gauls furnished by classic writers indicate that the ancient bronze leaf-shaped sword had been entirely superseded by the more effective iron weapon, prior to their collision with the veteran legions of Rome. The same is no less true of the contemporary Britons. Tacitus describes the Caledonians as "a strong, warlike nation, using large swords without a point, and targets, wherewith they artfully defended themselves against the Roman missiles." We know, moreover, that before the Romans effected a landing in Britain, they were familiar with the fact of an intimate intercourse having been long maintained with

¹ Scaliger, possibly on the authority of some particular ms., altered the passage to : "Aut ære aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis." *Mæn. Hist. Britann.* p. cli.

Gaul. The former is described by Julius Cæsar as the chief seat of a religion common to both ; and the evidence is no less explicit which shows that many of the southern British tribes were of the same race, and differed little in arts or customs from the Gauls of the neighbouring continent. But still more, the reason assigned by Cæsar for the first invasion of Britain was the provocation its natives had given him by the aid which they furnished to his enemies in Gaul. There could not therefore exist any great disparity in their arts or military accoutrements ; while we discover in this, evidence of some maritime skill to which they must have attained even at that early period, to enable them to embark such bodies of auxiliaries for the help of the continental tribes as attracted the notice of the Roman general.

To the early part of this Age of Iron should most probably be assigned the construction of the vast megalithic temple of Stonehenge. The distinction between it and the older structures of Wiltshire, as well as all other British monuments of this class, has already been referred to. Rude as its vast monoliths are, they differ essentially from the unhewn columns of Avebury or Stennis, and are characterized by a degree of regularity and uniformity of design, which mark them to belong to an era when the temple-builders had acquired the mastery of tools with which to hew them into shape. Much greater mechanical skill, moreover, was required to raise the superincumbent masses, and fit them into their exact position, than to rear the rude standing-stone, or upheave the capstone of the cromlech on to the upright trilith. Stonehenge, therefore, is certainly not a work of the Stone Period, and probably not of the Bronze Period, with the exception of its little central circle of unhewn monoliths, which may date back to a

very remote era, and have formed the nucleus round which the veneration of a later and more civilized age reared the gigantic columns, still so magnificent and mysterious even in ruin.

The isolation which we have reason to believe had hitherto exercised so much influence on the native tribes of Britain, is now seen to be finally at an end. The insular races are once more nomade, or mingle their blood with the more civilized tribes which are gradually securing a footing in the south-eastern portions of the island. A new stream of colonization had set in from the neighbouring continent,—the counterpart of many older immigrations,—which, followed successively by Roman legions of foreign auxiliaries, by Saxons, Angles, Scots, Danes, and Normans, produced the modern hardy race of islanders. The Celtic stock, to which of right the name of Briton pertained, was now to give place to the younger Germanic races, whose arts and laws were to mould into enduring consistency the new ethnic claimants of the British Isles. But while the Roman conquest effectually displaced the southern Briton, all but the little remnant which perpetuated a Celtic nationality within the mountain fastnesses of Wales: the native stock of Scotland and Ireland long held their ground, and maintained a progressive civilisation, which, under later Christian influences, developed an essentially Celtic era and style of art. But throughout this last Pagan era, the arts of North Britain appear to have been modified by the same influences as those of South Britain, Gaul, and Northern Europe generally. The Caledonian tribes were indeed only indirectly affected by the earlier invaders; but the close affinity between the relics of North and South Britain abundantly proves the rapid influence resulting alike from the friendly interchange of useful commodities and personal orna-

ments, and doubtless also from the frequent spoils of war. The gold coinage both of Gaul and Britain imitated from the Greek currency of Massilia, or the Macedonian didrachma and stater of Philip and Alexander; and the mintage stamped with devices and legends indicative of later Roman influence: have been repeatedly found in many parts of the island. But besides those, both archaeological and literary evidence confirm the use of copper or bronze and iron ring-money, and this perhaps more exclusively in the northern districts, where examples of minted native gold coinage are of rare occurrence; and the ruder type of the cross-marked gold pellet, cast in a mould, takes its place.

Several interesting discoveries of the primitive iron ring-money have been made in Scotland, though in no case as yet in such a state as to admit of its preservation. In a minute description of various antiquities in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Dumfriesshire, super-added to the *Old Statistical Account*, the contents of several tumuli opened about the year 1792 are detailed. In one was discovered a cist, enclosing an urn of elegant workmanship, filled with ashes. The urn was found standing with its mouth up, and covered with a stone. At a small distance from it, within the cist, lay several iron rings, each about the circumference of a half-crown piece, but so much oxidized that they crumbled to pieces on being touched.¹ A similar discovery made in Annandale is thus described by an eye-witness: "In the centre of the tumulus was found a red flag-stone laid level on the earth, on which were placed two other slabs of equal size, parallel to each other, and other two, one at each end; another was laid on the top as a cover. In the interior of this was an urn containing ashes, with a few very thin plates of iron in the form of rings, so com-

¹ Sinclair's *Statist. Acc.* vol. xlii. p. 272.

pletely corroded that when exposed to the air they crumbled into dust,"¹ In these frail relics of the new material we can have little hesitation in recognising the *annuli ferrei* of Julius Cæsar, used by the Britons before the Christian era as an accredited native currency.

Assuming it as an established fact that the native Britons had carried the arts of civilisation so far as to recognise the convenience of a circulating medium of exchange, and even to coin their own money, long before the date of Roman invasion, we perceive therein the evidence of a totally different era from the Archaic Period, in which direct imitation of the simplest positive forms is hardly traceable. Bronze, as has been already observed, continued to be used no less than in the former era, of which it has been assumed as the characteristic feature, in the manufacture of personal ornaments, domestic utensils, etc. In Denmark, indeed, some remarkably interesting relics have been found, seemingly belonging to the very dawn of the last transition-period, when iron was more precious than copper or bronze. These include axes consisting of a broad blade of copper edged with iron, and bronze daggers similarly furnished with edges of the harder metal. Even in Denmark such examples are extremely rare, and the only analogous instance that I am aware of hitherto discovered in Britain, is the large, eyed bronze spear-head in the Scottish Museum, with an iron core, inserted in the mould to strengthen the brittle weapon. A great similarity is traceable between the bronze relics of the various northern races of Europe, belonging to the Iron age; and that not of an indefinite character, like the stone hammer or flint lance and arrow heads of the Primeval Period, but a distinct uniformity of design and ornament, which has tended to confirm the

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. iv. p. 97.

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prevalent opinion that the majority of British and especially of Scottish bronze relics are of Danish origin. But the minute attention devoted to such objects alike by Danish and British archæologists in recent years, renders it no longer difficult to assign to Scandinavia whatever is her own; and if the arguments advanced here have any foundation in truth, it is obvious that the British Iron age had lasted more than a thousand years, and as a Pagan era was at an end, before we have any indication of Scandinavian invaders effecting permanent settlements on our shores. The whole evidence of history leads to the conclusion that Britain long preceded the Scandinavian races in civilisation; nor was it till she had been enervated alike by Roman luxury and by the intestine jealousies and rivalries of her later colonists, that Scandinavia, fresh in young barbarian vigour, made of her a spoil and a prey.

On none of the native arts did Roman intercourse effect a more remarkable change than on British fictile ware. From the English Channel to the Firth of Tay, Roman and Anglo-Roman pottery have been met with in abundance, including the fine Samian ware, probably of foreign workmanship, the rude vessels of the smother kiln, and the common clay urns and coarse amphoræ and mortaria, designed for daily domestic use. Numerous Anglo-Roman kilns have been discovered, some of them even with the half-formed and partially baked vessels still standing on the form or disposed in the kiln, as they had been abandoned some fifteen or sixteen centuries before. Cinerary urns of the same class have been frequently found along with relics corresponding to the era of Roman occupation. But the bronze relics of the later artistic type, corresponding in general style and ornamentation to those discovered in Northern Europe, when found in British sepulchral deposits are

almost invariably accompanied with the primitive pottery, or with a class of urns, described in a succeeding chapter, in which we trace the first elements of improvement in the manufacture of native fictile ware. The essentially diverse style of Roman art is unmistakable on the rudest implement associated with the pottery from Anglo-Roman kilns. This appears therefore to establish the deposition of the later native bronze relics prior to the earliest conceivable era of Scandinavian invasion. The Britons did unquestionably greatly degenerate after being abandoned by their Roman conquerors; but it is opposed alike to evidence and probability to imagine that they resumed the barbarous arts of an era some centuries prior: a proceeding more akin to the ideas of the modern antiquary than to the practice of semi-civilized man.

The devices most frequently employed in decorating gold, silver, and bronze relics of this period, are what are called the serpentine and dragon ornaments. They are common to works of the Celtic and Teutonic races, and may be referred to the same Eastern origin as the wild legends of the Germano-Teutonic and Scandinavian mythic poems, in which dragons, snakes, and other monsters, play so conspicuous a part. Along with those, however, there are other patterns indirectly traceable to Greek and Roman models, as is also observable in the dies of the early Gaulish and British coins. This will be more fully considered in treating of the personal ornaments of the period; but meanwhile we may draw the general conclusion, that the arts of the Iron age pertained to the whole Celtic and Teutonic races of Northern Europe, and reached Denmark and Britain from a common source, long prior to the natives of these two countries coming into direct collision. We have seen that an intimate intercourse was carried on between Britain and

Gaul at the very period when the transition to the fully developed Iron age was progressing in the former country: it is easy, therefore, to understand how similar arts would reach the Danish Peninsula and the Scandinavian countries beyond the Baltic. But Scandinavia had long passed her Bronze Period, when she sent forth her hardy Vikings to plunder the British coasts; and it was with other weapons than the small leaf-shaped bronze sword that the first Norse rovers came to desolate our shores.

In recent cuttings, during the construction of the Dublin and Cashel Railway, there were found a number of large and heavy iron swords, which are now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. These Mr. Worsaae examined during his visit to Ireland in 1846, and unhesitatingly pronounced them to be Norwegian. "The swords are long and straight, formed for cutting as well as thrusting, and terminate in points formed by rounding off the edge towards the back of the blade. The spears are long and slender, and similar in form to the lance-heads used in some cavalry corps."¹ They are formed of a soft kind of iron, like those referred to by Polybius, as in use among the Gauls more than a century prior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar; and, like them, they differ nearly as much in every essential point, as can well be conceived possible, from the bronze sword of the previous era. Mr. Worsaae especially refers to the great size and weight of the swords found in Ireland, and contrasts them with the lighter weapons of the same metal which he believes to be contemporary swords of the native Irish, from whence he draws the inference that Ireland was—like England, France, Germany, etc.—so weak, from about the eighth till the twelfth century, in consequence of intestine wars, that she fell an easy prey to small numbers of Scandinavian invaders. Mr. Worsaae

¹ *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 166.

further remarks of the weapons found at Kilmainham : —“ They are so like the Norse swords, that if they were mixed with the swords found in Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish tombs, and now in the collections of Christiana, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. The form of the handle, and particularly of the knob at the end of the handle, is quite characteristic of the Norse swords.”¹ Other antiquities of undoubted Scandinavian origin were also discovered at the same time.

The source from whence Europe derived this great gift of iron has yet to be ascertained. It certainly was not from Rome, for Greece was her precursor in its use. The Norici, it has already been observed, furnished the chief supplies of iron to Rome, and taught her metallurgists the art of converting it into steel. But the art of smelting the iron ore once discovered, many distinct centres would speedily contribute their independent supplies. Iron is the only metallic production, besides tin, which Cæsar assigns to the British Islands ; and it is far from improbable that the remote North even then indirectly contributed her share towards the new metallic source of that civilisation which still centred around the Mediterranean Sea. British antiquaries have obtained as yet only a partial view of Scandinavian archæology, though we owe so much to the intelligent research of the Northern antiquaries. The ancient land of the Scandinavian races includes Denmark,—a country of peculiar geological formation, having abundant stores of flint in its chalk strata, but no minerals to tempt the skill of its aboriginal occupants,—and Sweden, including Norway, a country abounding in minerals, and still furnishing Europe with the finest iron from its native ores.

¹ *The Antiquities of Ireland and Denmark*, by J. J. A. Worsaae, Esq. Dublin, 1846. P. 14.

It is remarkable that this latter country appears, from its primitive relics, to have had its primeval Stone Period and birth-time of the mechanical arts, but, with the exception of the small district of Sweden adjacent to Denmark, so far as yet appears, this was immediately succeeded by the Iron Period. No bronze archaic era is indicated in its archaeological annals. We cannot assume from this, as some are inclined to do, that therefore Norway must have remained an unpeopled waste, while Denmark was advancing into the period of well developed mechanical and ornamental arts. With our present imperfect materials for judging, it is better perhaps to assume nothing, but to wait for some able Norwegian archæologist doing that for his native antiquities which Thomsen and Worsaae have done for those of Denmark. Yet good evidence has been furnished in part, especially in one important department, by Professor Nilsson's *Skandinaviska Nordens Urinvånare*, or Primitive Inhabitants of Northern Scandinavia; though in this he assigns to the true Swea race, and the first workers of the native iron, no earlier date as colonists of Sweden than the sixth century.¹ The *Samlingar för Nordens fornälskare*, already referred to, is also of considerable value, especially from its copious illustrations. From these we learn that the primitive barrow-builders of Denmark and Norway are of the same race, and that the latter had her monolithic era, of which no less remarkable remains remain than that of Denmark. Hence we are led to ask the question: May not her Archaic Period have been an iron instead of a bronze one, and her forges among the earlier sources from whence the Celtic and

¹ Professor Nilsson is now publishing a new and enlarged edition of this work, one part of which has been issued. In this he ascribes to the Northern Bronze Age a Phœnician origin, and assumes a considerable infusion of Phœnician blood into the race of that period.

Teutonic races of Europe learned that the iron-stone was also an ore, and could be smelted and wrought like the more ductile bronze? Northern mythological traditions throw some imperfect and uncertain light on this subject. They refer, for example, to their Gnomes and Dwarfs, their Alfes, and other supernatural metallurgists, as inhabiting mountain regions lying beyond and around them. This is peculiarly noticeable in all the oldest mythic fables, mixed up with their wild inventions of dragons, serpents, and the like fanciful machinery, which tell of their far birth-land in the older continent of Asia. But it is worthy of notice, that the topography of these mythological legends very partially corresponds with the natural features of the Scandinavian peninsulas, lying as they do between two seas. May we not infer, therefore, that they had their origin while yet the Scandinavian nomades were wandering towards their final destination between the Baltic and the German Ocean, and that these distant mountains, with their metallurgic Gnomes and Alfes, were the mountain ranges of northern Europe, and the Allophylian or Finnic natives who first attempted the acquisition of those mineral treasures which now furnish so valuable a source of national wealth? The Germanic tradition has already been noticed which places the forge of the mythic Weland in the Caucasus: a fading memorial, perhaps, of the wanderings of their Teutonic fathers towards their western home. Such wild traditions must necessarily be used with much doubt and caution; yet they are not meaningless, nor the mere baseless offspring of fancy. Other and more direct evidence may possibly be within reach of the Norwegian archæologist, to confirm the idea that the Alfes of his ancestral myths were none other than a hardy race of Finnish, Celtic, or other primitive metallurgists, who, like the Norici, supplied the weapons by

which themselves were subjugated. All this, however, is little more than theory, and suggested only as guessings at truth which lie at present beyond our grasp.

By far the most important iron ore wrought in Norway and Sweden is Magnetite, which appears to pertain nearly as exclusively to the North as tin does to the British Isles. The largest known masses occur in Scandinavia, Lapland, Siberia, and in North America. In Norway, Arendal is the most important locality; in Sweden it is obtained at Dannemora, Utoe, Norberg, and Taberg. The fine quality of the Magnetite ores is ascribed to their being mixed with calc-spar, thallite, hornblende, and other natural adjuncts advantageous for their reduction, so that the granular ores often require no other flux. Such a condition of the iron ore was manifestly peculiarly calculated to facilitate the processes of smelting and fusing, and thereby to adapt it for working by the unscientific metallurgist. Magnetite is not unknown in several of the remoter parts of Scotland, but the distance from fuel has hitherto prevented its application to economic purposes, at least in modern times. Bog iron ore, a hydrated oxide of iron still more readily fused, is also common in Sweden, and abundant in the northern and western islands of Scotland; but though well adapted for castings, it is inapplicable for other purposes. Hæmatite, or specular iron, is another of the most abundant iron ores specially worthy of notice here, because it is found in a state more nearly resembling the metal than any other ore of iron, and occurs in the most ancient metallurgic districts of England, where the previous native industrial arts were so well calculated to suggest its economic use when observed in such a form. It appears at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, in the form of fine red crystals of pure iron peroxide, and is also found at Tincroft and St. Just in

the same district, in Devonshire, Wales, Cumberland, and in Perthshire. Such are some of the lights by which mineralogy enables us to trace out the probable origin of the working of iron in Europe ; but after all, it is to Asia we must turn for the true source of many primitive arts, nor will the canons of Archæology be established on a safe foundation till the antiquities of that older continent have been explored and classified. The advocate of Druidical theories may find his so-called "Druidical temple" in the steppes of Asia as well as on Salisbury Plain ; and probably very many other supposed national relics, exclusively appropriated by the local antiquary, will yet be discovered to have their types and counterparts in the evidences of primitive Asiatic art. "Sepulchral tumuli are spread over all the northern and western parts of Europe, and over many extensive regions in northern Asia, as far eastward at least as the river Yenissei. They contain the remains of races either long ago extinct, or of such as have so far changed their abodes and manner of existence, that the ancestors can no longer be recognised in their descendants. They abound on the banks of the great rivers Irtysh and Yenissei, where the greatest numbers of the then existing people were collected, by the facilities afforded to human intercourse. In Northern Asia these tombs are ascribed to Tschudes, or barbarians, nations foreign and hostile to the Slavic race. The erectors of these sepulchral mounds were equally distinct and separate from the Tartar nations, who preceded the Slaves ; for the tombs of the Tartars, and all edifices raised by them, indicate the use of iron tools ; and the art of working of iron mines has ever been a favourite attribute of the Tartar nations. But silver and golden ornaments of rude workmanship, though in abundant quantity, are found in the Siberian tombs. The art of

fabricating ornaments of the precious metals seems to have preceded by many ages the use of iron in the northern regions of Asia. In the plains where these tombs are found, it is not unfrequent to meet with circles of upright stones, like those which in Europe are termed Druidical, but which are by no means confined to the countries where Druidism is known to have prevailed."¹

Seeing those facts in view, which so entirely coincide with ascertained truths of primitive European history, it is still highly significant to note that the archæology of Sweden and Norway seems to prove the absence there of certain traces of primitive metallurgic arts discoverable elsewhere, equally in the Asiatic seats of earliest population, and in other European countries colonized by Aryan nomades. If we accept the conclusions arrived at by Professor Nilsson relative to the recent intrusion of the Swea race into Scandinavia, we shall be the more certainly forced to infer that they were then a people far advanced in the arts of civilisation; since it is the same race whose powerful fleets are found ravaging the northern coasts of Europe in the ninth century, establishing colonies on their shores, and soon after planting Scandinavian settlements in Iceland, and Greenland, if not also in Vinland on the continent of North America. Leaving, however, the question of dates to further inquiry, the seeming coincidence of northern mythological fables with the topography of the country and the peculiar characteristics of its primitive antiquities, suggests the conclusion that the latest intruding race brought with it—probably from Asia,—a knowledge of the art of working the metals; and found on settling in the North that their predecessors were already familiar with its mineral trea-

¹ Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, p. 190.

tures, and knew how to smelt the iron-stone and convert it to economic purposes. The latter, according to the craniological investigations of Professor Nilsson, were a race of Celtic origin, having skulls longer than the first and broader than the second of the two elder races of the Scandinavian barrows; though the true type of the Celtic cranium, and the precise deductions to be drawn from such craniological data, are still open to discussion. There is nothing, however, in the ethnological characteristics of this race inconsistent with such metallurgic skill; but, on the contrary, much to add to the probability of an early practice of the arts of the founder and the smith, and an aptitude for working in metals.

This digression pertains, perhaps, more to general Archæology than to the direct elucidation of Scottish antiquities. But independently of the legitimate interest attached to the origin of such metallurgic arts as brought civilisation in their train, the history of Scotland at the period we are now approaching is more intimately connected with Norway than with any other country, except Ireland. To Scandinavian literature we still look for some of the earliest traces of authentic national history; and whatever tends to illuminate the Iron Period of the North can hardly fail to throw some light upon our own. But this must be the work of the archæologists of Scandinavia.

The traditional Vöelund-myth has already been attempted to be connected with a definite historic epoch, the reign of Nidung, king of Nerika, in Sweden, in the sixth century. But such a mode of interpretation shows a very imperfect appreciation of the true nature of this remarkable myth, which belongs in reality to no single country, but is essential as an early link in the infantile history of the human race. We cannot, indeed, too speedily abandon the misdirected aim

of seeking for precise dates of epochs in primitive history. With these the archæologist, in his earlier investigations, has generally little more to do than the geologist. Both must rest content with a relative chronology, which nevertheless further investigation will doubtless render more definite and precise. Where dates are clearly ascertainable, the archæologist will gladly avail himself of them; and in this Iron Period much of the indefiniteness of primeval annals begins to give place to authentic history. But while rejecting the localization of the Vœlund-myth at the court of Nerika, it is of importance for our present purpose to note the general evidences of Scandinavian progress in the arts by which nations attain their majority. Not in the ninth century only, but perhaps in this era of King Nidung, in the sixth century, or in the fifth or fourth,—we know not indeed how early,—the Northmen may have begun to build ships, and learned boldly to quit their fiords for the open sea. Our annals prior to the ninth century are so meagre that we must lie open to the recovery of many traces of important events unnoted by them, in the interval between that ascertained epoch and the older one when the Roman legions were compelled to abandon the vallum of Antoninus, and repair the barrier beyond the Tyne. We cannot too speedily disabuse ourselves of the idea, that because no Celtic or Scandinavian Herodotus has left us records of our old fatherland, therefore the North had no history prior to its Christian era. We owe to the Romans the history of centuries which otherwise must have remained unwritten, yet not the less amply filled with the deeds of Cassivelaunus, Boadicea, Galgacus, and many another hero and heroine, all unsung; though they wanted but their British Homer, or Northern Hermes with his graphic runes, to render the sieges of the White Caterthun as world famous as that of Troy.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN INVASION.

THE fashion of Scottish archaeologists in dealing with their national antiquities has heretofore most frequently been to write a folio volume on the Anglo-Roman era, and huddle up in a closing chapter or appendix some few notices of such obdurate relics of primitive nationality as could in no way be forced into a Roman mould. Some valuable works have been the result of this exclusive devotion to one remarkable epoch ; but since this has been so faithfully explored by Camden, Sibbald, Horsley, Gordon, Roy, Chalmers, and Stuart, there is good reason why we may be excused following the example of the Antiquary *par excellence*, and plunging, "nothing loth, into a sea of discussion concerning urns, vases, votive altars, Roman camps, and the rules of *castrametation*," with copious notations on the difference between the mode of entrenching *castra stativa* and *castra aestiva*, "things confounded by too many of our historians !"

To English archaeologists the Anglo-Roman Period is one of the greatest importance ; for the Romans conquered and colonized their country, taught its inhabitants their religion, sepulchral rites, arts, and laws, and, after occupying the soil for centuries, left them a totally different people from what they had found them. There is something, moreover, in the very geological features of

the south-eastern districts of England, which the Romans first and chiefly occupied, at once more readily susceptible, and more in need of such external influences. It cannot, indeed, be overlooked, among the elements of ethnological science, that the geological features of countries and districts exercise no unimportant influence on the races that inhabit them. The intelligent traveller detects many indications besides the mere difference of building materials, when he passes from the British chalk and clay to the stone districts. To the Romans it can hardly be doubted that England owes the art of converting her clay into bricks and tiles; and that in all probability, the P. P. BRI. LON.—*præfectus primæ [cohortis] Britonum Londinii*?—stamped on Roman tiles found on the site of modern London,¹ indicate some of the products of the kilns by which the inexhaustible bed of London clay was first converted to economical uses. The Roman mansion, with its hypocaust and sudatorium, its mosaic paving and painted walls, its sculptures, bronzes, and furnishings of all sorts, introduced the refinements of classic Italy into the social life of England; while the disciplined hardness of legionary colonists tempered the excesses of Roman luxury. New wants were speedily created, and many dormant faculties excited into action among the intelligent native tribes. The older British pottery entirely disappeared, superseded by skilful products of the Anglo-Roman kiln, or the more beautiful imported Samian ware. England might, and indeed did, greatly degenerate when deserted by her conquerors, but it was altogether impossible that she could return to her former state. The footmark of the Roman on the soil of England is indelible. It forms a great and most memorable epoch between two widely different periods, the influence of which has probably never since ceased to operate; and

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 144.

hence the important place which it still continues to occupy in English archæology.

The history of the Scoto-Roman invasion is different from this. It affects only a small portion of the country, and constitutes a mere episode which might be omitted without very greatly marring the integrity and completeness of the national annals. With the exception of the country lying to the south of the Antonine wall, it was little more than a temporary military occupation of a few fenced stations amid hostile tribes. Julius Cæsar effected his first landing on the shores of Britain in the year B.C. 55 ; but it was not till after a lapse of 135 years that Agricola led the Roman army across the debatable land of the Scottish border, and began to hew a way through the Caledonian forests. Domitian succeeded to the throne of Titus in the following year, while the Roman legions were rearing their line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde ; and the jealousy of the tyrant speedily wrested the government of the island from the conqueror of Galgacus. From that period till the accession of the Emperor Hadrian, in A.D. 117, Roman historians are nearly silent about Britain ; but we then learn that the Roman authority was maintained with difficulty in its island province ; and when Hadrian visited Britain, the chief memorial he left of the imperial presence was the vallum which bore his name, extending between the Solway and the Tyne. Up to this period, therefore, it is obvious that the Roman legions had established no permanent footing in Caledonia, using that term in its modern and most comprehensive sense ; nor was it till the accession of Titus Antoninus Pius to the Imperial throne, and the appointment of Lollius Urbicus to the command in Britain, nearly two centuries after the first landing of Cæsar in England, that any portion of our northern kingdom acquired a claim to the title of

Caledonia Romana. Lollius Urbicus, the legate of Antoninus, fixed the northern limits of Roman empire on the line previously marked out by the forts of Agricola; and beyond that boundary, extending between the Forth and the Clyde, the chief traces of the presence of the Romans are a few earthworks, and some chance discoveries, chiefly of pottery and coins, ascribable, it may be, to such fruitless northern expeditions as that of Agricola, after the victory of Mons Grampius, or the still more ineffectual one of Severus. A valuable hoard, amounting to about 700 Roman silver coins, dug up in the vicinity of Kinross, towards the close of 1857, belongs apparently to the latter expedition, as it included the entire series from Nero to Severus. One of the three Roman pigs of lead hitherto recovered in Scotland was found in the same extra-mural region; and in it lies the celebrated Roman military work, Ardoch Camp, within the area of which was discovered the sepulchral memorial of Ammonius Damionis, the only Roman inscription yet found north of the Forth. Such an exception is the strongest evidence that could be produced of the transitory nature of Roman occupation in the region beyond the boundaries fixed by Lollius Urbicus.

Here, then, we have the proprætor of Antoninus Pius established within the line of ramparts which bears the Emperor's name, A.D. 140. The Roman soldiers are busy building forts; raising each their one or two thousand paces of the wall, and recording the feat on the legionary tablets which still attest the same; constructing roads and other military works; and establishing here and there colonie and oppida, with a view to permanent settlement. For a period of about twenty years, during which Lollius Urbicus remained governor of the province, peace appears to have prevailed; and to this brief epoch, when a Roman gavy was stationed on the coasts of

Britain, we may, with great probability, ascribe the rise of Inveresk, Cramond, and other maritime Roman sites. With the death of the able Titus Antoninus, whom grateful Roman citizens surnamed Pius, all this was at an end. Calphurnius Agricola had to be despatched by the new emperor, Marcus Aurelius, to put down an insurrection of the British tribes. The reign of his successor Commodus was marked by a still more determined rising of the North. The Caledonian Britons again took to arms, assailed the legions with irresistible force, defeated them and slew their general, broke through the rampart of Antoninus, and penetrated unchecked into the most fertile districts of the Roman province lying between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. Another legate, Ulpius Marcellus, had to hasten from Rome to arrest the Caledonian invaders, and a few more years of doubtful peace were secured to the northern province. Lucius Septimius Severus succeeded to the purple A.D. 197, learned that the Caledonian Britons were once more within the ineffectual ramparts, and after a few years of timid negotiation, rather than of determined opposition to these hardy northern tribes, Virius Lupus, the legate of Severus, was compelled to own that the occupation of *Britannia Barbara* was hopeless. The aged emperor immediately commenced preparations for marching in person against the northern foe. About A.D. 208 he effected his purpose, and entered Caledonia at the head of an overwhelming force ; but it was in vain. He penetrated indeed as far, it is thought, as the Moray Firth, but only to return, with numbers greatly reduced, to fix once more the limits of Roman empire where they had been before marked out by the wall of Hadrian, between the Solway and the Tyne. It is possible, indeed, that the northern wall was not immediately abandoned. At Cramond have been found both coins and medals of Caracalla and

Diocletian. The Roman tenure of the North, however, was manifestly insecure; and the successor of Severus was little likely to recover what that able emperor had been compelled to abandon.

A period of sixty-eight years is thus the utmost that can be assigned for this occupation of the country to the north of the Tyne as a Roman province, and the history of that brief era is amply sufficient to justify the oft-claimed title—whatever be its value,—of the unconquered Caledonians. The tribes in the immediate vicinity of the garrisoned strongholds of the invaders might be overawed and forced into apparent submission; but the country was no more subdued and rendered a tributary province than when Edward made himself the arbiter between Baliol and the Bruce.

The successors of Severus were glad to secure the forbearance of the northern tribes on any terms; and for seventy-three years after the departure of his sons from Britain its name is scarcely mentioned by any Roman writer. In subsequent allusions to the restless incursions of the Caledonians on the southern province, they are mentioned for the first time in the beginning of the fourth century by the name of *Picts*; but it is not till the reign of the Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 367, that we find the Roman legions under Theodosius effectually coping with the northern invaders, and recovering the abandoned country between the walls of Antoninus and Severus. This was now at length converted into a Roman province, and received the name of *VALENTIA*; in honour of the Emperor; and to this latter occupation should probably be ascribed many of the traces of the Roman presence in districts between the Solway and the Forth, which were still unoccupied, when Ptolemy recorded the details of British geography in the second century. But the meagre history of Roman Scotland is

that of a frontier province. The Picts were ever ready to sally forth from their mountain fastnesses on the slightest appearance of insecurity or intermitted watchfulness. Again and again they ravaged the southern provinces, and returned loaded with spoil; and it is chiefly to the notices of their inroads and repulsions that we owe the possession of any authentic glimpses of North Britain in the fourth century. Early in the fifth century, about the year 422, a Roman legion made its appearance in Scotland for the last time. It succeeded in driving back the Picts beyond the northern wall, as a disciplined force must ever do when brought into direct collision with untrained barbarian tribes; but it was no longer possible to retain the province of Valentia. The legionary colonists and the Romanized Britons were advised to abandon it, and they once more withdrew within the older limits fixed by Severus on the line of Hadrian's Wall. So ended the second and last Roman occupation of Scotland, extending over a period of about fifty years. But the establishment of the Roman town near the Eildon Hills, and the occupation of other sites in the interior of the same country, bearing traces of Roman occupation, must be assigned to the earlier era. Roy, adhering to one of the names given by Ptolemy, while he rejects the locality assigned to it by the old geographer, fixes the site of *Τριμοντιον*, or *Trimontium*, in the neighbourhood of the Eildons, because "the aspect of the hills corresponds exactly with the name;"¹ and the village of Eildon on their eastern slopes has been assumed as the modern occupant of the Roman station, which borrowed its title from the triple summits of the Eildon hills. General Roy, who visited the district nearly a century ago, acknowledged that he had no better authority for determining the site than some imperfect traces of an en-

¹ Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 116.

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trenchment under the eastern skirt of the hills, which Chalmers assigns to the provincial Britons of a later date. But subsequent discoveries and observations have disclosed many Roman remains on another site to the north of the Eildons, in the vicinity of the village of Newstead, and considerably nearer the Tweed, the *Vedra* of Ptolemy. Two altars, numerous coins, Samian ware, broken amphoræ, mortaria, and other pottery of Roman workmanship, as well as some traces of a stone bridge, all attest the ancient presence of the legionaries on the banks of the Tweed. The coins include stray consular ones of an early date, and imperial coins so late as Constantine. But Dr. John Alexander Smith, to whom the determination of this Roman site is due,¹ conceives, from



FIG. 105.—Aureus of Antoninus Pius.

the abundance and good preservation of the earlier coins, that its most important period as a Roman station was when this northern province was held by the legate of Antoninus Pius. During the uncertain ebb and flow of the tide of conquest in the insular provinces of the empire, numismatic evidence indicates the presence of the Romans at the base of the Eildon Hills in various reigns subsequent to the restoration of the southern barrier between the Solway and the Tyne; but for nearly a century after Marcus Antoninus there is almost a blank; and it is only from the latter part of the third century that a scanty array of coins carry us on to the final close of Roman rule.

¹ "Roman Antiquities found at Newstead, Roxburghshire," by J. A. Smith, M.D.—*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. i. p. 28.

The presence of the Romans in Scotland under the earlier emperors, though recorded by the most numerous and enduring traces, was little more than an occupation of military posts; their second settlement, in the latter end of the fourth century, was the precarious establishment of a Roman province on a frontier station, and within sight of a foe ever watching the opportunity for invasion and spoil. Hence the paucity of Roman remains in Scotland, and the trifling influence exercised by Roman civilisation on its ancient arts. Roman pottery has been found in considerable quantities on the sites of a few well-known stations, but no Roman kiln has yet been discovered, such as suffices in England to show how completely native arts were superseded by those of the Italian colonists. Few, indeed, of the memorials which the Romans have left of their presence pertain to the practice of the peaceful arts. Their inscriptions, their altars, and their sepulchral tablets, all relate to the legionary, and show by how precarious a tenure his footing was maintained beyond the Tyne. But amid all the traces of armed occupation of frontier posts, it is curious to observe the many proofs which still suffice to show how the Roman colonist transferred to the remotest provinces the arts which had originated under the sunny skies of Italy. On the wild moors of Northumberland and Cumberland the squared masonry of the stations and wall-castles still proves with what laborious assiduity the most available materials were turned to account for military defences; but the ruined villa and the buried hypocaust no less clearly illustrate the skill with which he strove to reproduce under our bleak northern skies the luxuries developed by long matured civilisation on the shores of the Mediterranean. Passing beyond the limits assigned by Hadrian to Roman dominion, the legions entered on a country the

geological features of which are totally dissimilar to any part of Britain which they had previously acquired. Yet the ruins of their buildings, discovered in the very centre of the Lothians, show that they brought with them the art of the brickmaker, and manufactured their building materials by the same laborious process above the fine sandstone strata of the Firth of Forth, as within the chalk and clay districts of England, where their earliest settlements were effected.

This evidence of the practice of exotic arts becomes still more noticeable on the sites of some of the northern wall-stations. At Castlehill, for example, the third station from the west end of the rampart of Antoninus, where an inscribed tablet of the twentieth legion was discovered in 1849, the materials of the Roman fort have been employed in the erection of the farm-offices and enclosures which occupy its commanding site. But the intelligent observer who inspects these in reference to the source of their masonry, can hardly fail to be struck with the peculiar character of the stones built into the new walls, or lying where they have been turned up by the plough. The legionary builders would seem to have found clay unattainable, or inconvenient to work, and were sufficiently remote from the Clyde to render importation unadvisable. They have accordingly been compelled to resort to stone; but, true to the more familiar material, they have with perverse ingenuity hewn it into the shape and size of the common Roman brick.

Another conclusive proof of the purely military occupation of Scotland by the Romans, appears from the fact, that with comparatively few exceptions the Scoto-Roman remains have been brought to light on the line of the Antonine Wall. Some of the exceptions, however, are well deserving of attention. A remarkable altar, found at Inveresk, near Edinburgh, so early as 1565, is

dedicated, as is supposed, to the Celtic Apollo, APOLLINI GRANNO,¹ by Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, which possesses a special interest from the fact that it attracted the notice of Mary Queen of Scotland. In her treasurer's accounts appears the charge of twelve pence paid "to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with ane charge of the Queenis Grace, direct to the Baillies of Mussilburgh, charging thame to tak diligent heid and attendance that the monument of grit antiquitie, new fundin, be nocht demolisit nor broken down:" an evidence of archaeological taste and reverence for *monuments of idolatry*, which probably did not in any degree tend to raise the Queen in the estimation of the bailies of the burgh. The same ancient relic became an object of interest to Randolph and Cecil, the ambassador and minister of Queen Elizabeth;² and afterwards furnished Napier of Merchiston with an illustration of the idols of pagan Rome when writing his Commentary on the Apocalypse. This remarkable monument of the Roman colonists of Inveresk must have been preserved for some generations, as Sir Robert Sibbald mentions having seen it.³ He died about the year 1712, and the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* of Gordon, in which no notice of it occurs, was published only fourteen years later. The remains of Roman villas with their hypocausts, flue-tiles, pottery, and other traces of Italian luxury, have been found at various times in the same neighbourhood, leaving no room to doubt that an important Roman town once existed on the spot. A few miles to the west, along the coast of the Forth, the little fishing village of Cramond is believed to occupy the site of another Roman sea-port. There also altars, inscribed tablets, coins, and other relics, attest the im-

¹ From the Gaelic *grian*, the sun; vide Dr. Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, chap. v. p. 130.

² *Archæol. Scot.* vol. ii.

³ *Historical Inquiries*, p. 41.

portance of the ancient station. Newstead, near the Eildons, has also furnished two altars; and Birrens, the old *Blatum Belgium* of Ptolemy, several inscriptions and sculptures. But even those are nearly all military relics, chiefly of the first and second Tungrian cohorts; and if to them are added some few fragments of sculpture and pottery, and examples of bronze culinary vessels, we have a summary of nearly the whole Roman remains, apart from the stations on the wall of Antoninus, and the celebrated Arthur's Oon, the supposed *Templum Termini*, of which so much has been written to so little purpose. The earliest writer who notices this remarkable architectural relic is Nennius, abbot of Bangor, as is believed, in the early years of the seventh century. His own era, however, is matter of dispute, and his account sufficiently confused and contradictory. Its masonry appears to have differed entirely from any authentic remains of Roman building found in Scotland, and, indeed, to have had no very close parallel anywhere; though its form coincided with the round or bee-hive houses of Scotland and Ireland, and its masonry was not greatly dissimilar to that of the Scottish round towers, the work of native builders, by whom it was more probably erected. The total absence of cement must at least be sufficient with most English antiquaries, to throw no little doubt on its Roman origin. The modern archæologist may be pardoned if he smile at the enthusiasm of elder antiquaries, who discovered in this little sacellum, or stone bee-hive, of twenty-eight feet in diameter and twenty-two feet in height, a facsimile of "the famous Pantheon at Rome, before the noble portico was added to it by Marcus Agrippa," to which Gordon—the ever-memorable Sandy Gordon of the *Antiquary*,—resolved not to be outdone by Dr. Stukely, adds, 'The Pantheon, however, being only built of brick, whereas Arthur's Oven is made

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of regular courses of hewn stone!" Sir John Clerk, writing to Mr. Gale, shortly after the destruction of the Oon, remarks,—“In pulling these stones asunder, it appeared there had never been any cement between them, though there is limestone and coal in abundance very near it. Another thing very remarkable is, that each stone had a hole in it which appeared to have been made for the better raising them to a height by a kind of forceps of iron, and bringing them so much the easier to their several beds and courses.”¹ These facts we owe to the barbarian cupidity of Sir Michael Bruce, on whose estate of Stonehouse this remarkable and indeed unique relic stood. The same zealous Scottish antiquary, quoted above, writing from Edinburgh to his English correspondent in June 1743, remarks with quaint severity,—“He has pulled it down, and made use of all the stones for a mill-dam, and yet without any intention of preserving his fame to posterity, as the destroyer of the Temple of Diana had. No other motive had this Gothic knight but to procure as many stones as he could have purchased in his own quarries for five shillings! . . . We all curse him with bell, book, and candle :”—an ex-communicatory service not yet fallen wholly into disuse. Of this unique architectural relic sufficiently minute drawings and descriptions have been preserved to render it no difficult matter to reconstruct, in fancy, its miniature cupola and concentric courses of stone; but it still remains an archaeological enigma, which the magic term *Roman* seems by no means satisfactorily to solve.

The course of the Antonine rampart and military road lay through a part of the country repeatedly selected by later engineers, from its presenting the same facilities which first attracted the experienced eye of Agricola.

¹ *Biblio. Topog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 385.

John Clerk, section of the asunder, it ant between abundance ble is, that o have been t by a kind h the easier facts we owe ce, on whose ded unique ary, quoted glish corre- severity,— ll the stones tion of pre- oyer of the this Gothic could have illings! . . . e :”—an ex- into disuse. atly minute ved to ren- n fancy, its stone; but which the sfactorily to

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and afterwards of Lollius Urbicus, as the most suitable ground for the chief Roman work in Scotland. Gordon, it is understood, acquired his chief knowledge of the Roman remains of this district while examining the ground with a view to the formation of a projected Forth and Clyde Canal.¹ General Roy again surveyed the same ground, through which at length the Canal, and still more recently the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, have been carried; in each case leading to interesting discoveries of Roman remains.

The most remarkable disclosures took place at Auchindavy during the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal, when a pit was discovered within the area of the Roman fort, containing five altars, a mutilated statue, and two ponderous iron hammers. Four of the altars, and probably the fifth, had been erected by one individual, M. Cocceius Firmus, a centurion in the Second Legion, Augusta. Their dedications include Imperial Jove, Mars, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Victory, Epona, and the field deities; but more interesting than all those is the altar thus inscribed to the tutelary genius of Britain: GENIO · TERRAE · BRITANNICAE · M · COCCEI · FIRMVS · > LEG · II · AVG. The position of the altars, thus hastily thrown together, and covered up on the spot where they were destined to lie undiscovered for so many centuries, seems to tell, in no unmistakable language, of the precipitate retreat of the Roman garrison from the fort of Auchindavy, intrusted to the charge of the devout centurion who was thus compelled to abandon his desecrated are. All these, as well as many other relics

¹ *Caledonia Romana*, p. 270. I am informed, however, by Sir George Clerk, Bart., of Penicuik, that the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* was originally a teacher of music at Aberdeen; and according to the traditions of the Penicuik family, he was usually known by the name of *Galyacus*, being no doubt apt to carry his enthusiasm for his favourite hero of Mons Grampius to an extent somewhat amusing, if not troublesome, to friends and patrons.

found from time to time along the line of the Roman wall, have been deposited in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. They mark emphatically the dawn of a new era in Scottish archæology. Definite historic annals henceforth come to the aid of induction. Dates take the place of periods, and individuals that of races. Unhappily also, with the definiteness of written records, we come in contact with doubts often more difficult to solve than many of those which have to be unravelled from the unwritten primeval records; since it is no longer the accuracy of the induction, but the veracity of the annalist, that has most anxiously to be looked to. Such, however, is not the case with the inscribed evidences of the presence of the Roman legions.

Fortunately for the Scottish antiquary the builders of the Caledonian Wall appear to have taken a peculiar and unprecedented pleasure in recording their share in this great work; and though it is traced in more uncertain lines across the isthmus, once guarded by its vallum and forts, than those between the Solway and the Tyne, its history is attended by no such uncertainty as that which still renders the origin of the southern barrier a *quæstio vexata* among English antiquaries. Its legionary inscriptions,—dedicated to the Emperor in whose reign it was executed,—name the legate by whom it was planned, and indicate not only the several portions of it erected by the different legions and cohorts, but even the number of paces which they dedicate as the fruit of their labours to the Emperor, Father of his Country. These inscriptions, with those on the accompanying altars and sepulchral tablets, are objects of just interest and historical value, supplying definite records of the legions by whom the country was held during the brief period of Roman occupation, and meting out to the modern investigator a measure of information more suited to his desires than

he could hope to recover from any notices of so remote and poor a province of the Roman empire, in the pages of contemporary authors.

Only one of the Roman historians, Julius Capitolinus, the biographer of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, makes any allusion to the erection of the Caledonian Wall; and on his sole authority, for fully fourteen centuries, rested the statement that the imperial legate, Lollius Urbicus, reared the vallum which still in its ruins perpetuates the name of the Emperor, and preserves, as a visible link between the present and the past, this northern limit of the Roman world. The very site of the several British walls was still matter of dispute, when, towards the close of the seventeenth century, a rude and very imperfect fragment of an inscribed tablet was discovered at or near the fort of Bemulie,¹ which in point of historical value surpasses any Roman relic yet found in Scotland. The inscription is such a mutilated fragment that the farmer might have turned it up with his plough and flung it from the furrow, or the mason broken it up to build into his fence, without either of them dreaming that it differed in value from any other stone, though its few roughly inscribed letters supply a fact indispensable to the integrity of Scottish history. Gordon pronounces it "the most invaluable jewel of antiquity that ever was found in the island of Britain since the time of the Romans." It is the fragment of a votive tablet, so imperfect that it is doubtful whether it be a dedication by the Second Legion Augusta, in honour of the Imperial Legate, or by the latter in honour of the Emperor. It contains, however, the names of both, and establishes the only essential fact, that the wall between the Forth and the Clyde is the work referred to by Julius Capitolinus. The stone, which now forms one of the treasures of the

¹ Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 152.

Hunterian Museum, measures seventeen by ten inches, and bears the abbreviated and mutilated inscription:—

P · LEG · II · A ·

Q · LOLLIO · VR

LEG · AVG · PR · PR

Extended as a votive tablet in honour of the Legate, rather than of the Emperor, it may be read: POSUIT LEGIO SECUNDA AUGUSTA QUINTO LOLLIO URBICO LEGATO AUGUSTI PROPRÆTORI. Since its discovery a perfect votive tablet has been found among the richer memorials in the vicinity of the Hadrian Wall, containing the names both of the Emperor and his proprætor. It was dug up in 1851, as Dr. Bruce believes, in front of the rased pretorian buildings of Bremenium, or High Rochester, an important Roman station about twenty-two miles beyond the wall, on the great military highway to the north. Its dedicatory inscription, by the first cohort of the Lingones, of the work executed under the direction of the Imperial Legate, is thus set forth:—

IMP · CAES · T · AELIO

HAD · ANTONINO · AVG · PIO · P · P ·

SVB · Q · LOL · VRBICO ·

LEG · AVG · PRO · PRÆ ·

COH · I · LING

E · Q · F

In this interesting memorial we trace the footprints of the Roman General, and see him cautiously strengthening the outposts of the vallum in his rear, before pushing forward the conquests which enabled him to imprint the name of the Emperor in enduring characters on the utmost northern limits of the Roman world.

The votive tablet of Bemulie fort, taken in connection with another sculptured slab, found in 1812 at Duntocher, near the western termination of the wall, perfects the evidence which determines the chain of forts between

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the Forth and Clyde to be the Antonine vallum. The Duntocher tablet is a large and elaborately sculptured slab, executed with such skill and freedom of handling that Stuart pronounces it to be "the *chef-d'œuvre* of those military artists who handled the chisel in the reign of Antoninus, to ornament the stations of his barrier wall." Two winged Victories, each resting one foot on a globe, bear up an oblong inscribed tablet, guarded on either side by a legionary soldier and a vexillarius displaying the standard of the legion sur-named the Victorious, with the legend VIRT · AVG · But what confers its special historical value on this stone is, that, while others bear the name of the Emperor, and the Bemulie fragment furnishes that of the Imperial Legate, by whom the great military work was executed, this conjoins the name of Antoninus with the explicit mention of the *opus valli*. It reads as follows:—

IMP · C · T · AELIO · HADR

IANO · ANTONINO · AVG ·

P · P · VEX · LEG · VI ·

VICTRICIS · P · F

OPVS · VALLI · P ·

MMM CCXL · P ·

The ordinary votive inscriptions include the name and distinctive titles of the legion, cohort, or vexillation, by which the number of paces of the wall recorded on them have been erected; and dedicate the work in honour of the Emperor. The larger tablets are generally adorned with sculptured decorations, and frequently bear the device of the legion: the Boar of the Twentieth; or the Pegasus and Capricorn of the Second Legion, sur-named Augusta. One singular sculptured legionary tablet, however, found at Castlehill, the site of the third station on the wall, almost tempts to the idea that the fanciful hybrid of the goat and seal was employed there

as the emblematical symbol of Caledonia. It is a tablet recording with less abbreviation than usual the completion of 4666 paces of the wall by the Second Legion :—

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO ·
HADRIANO · ANTONINO ·
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II
AVG · PER · M · P · III · DC

LXVI · S

On one side of this inscription appears a literal representation of imperial triumph: captives stripped and bound, above them a mounted Roman, armed and in full career, and over all a female figure, supposed to bear a wreath emblematic of Victory. On the other side is the Roman eagle perched on the prostrate sea-goat, the symbolic counterpart of the literal exhibition of the conquered Caledonians. The legionary symbol,



FIG. 106.—Coin of Comius.

Capricornus, occurs on certain coins of Augustus in reference to his birth under that sign; and was no doubt adopted for the same reason by the Legion which bore his name. But it is also met with at an earlier date, on a rare coin, shown above, figured by Gough, and now ascribed to Comius, about B.C. 45.

There are altogether in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, sixteen altars, and nearly thirty legionary or centurial tablets and other Roman inscriptions, besides those retained in private collections, the greater number of which have been found along the line of the Antonine wall. But as nearly the whole of those have been repeatedly described and engraved, it is needless to

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introduce their inscriptions here. One interesting discovery, however, made at Castlehill, since the publication of the *Caledonia Romana*, deserves to be noted. It was found during the spring of 1847, by the plough striking against it, where it lay embedded in the soil with its edge upward, as if it had been purposely buried at some former period, in the shady ravine called the Peel Glen : a dark and eerie recess, where the *Campestres Britannie*, the fairies of Scottish folklore, have not yet entirely ceased to claim the haunt accorded to them by immemorial popular belief. The Roman relic



FIG. 107.—Roman Tablet, Castlehill.

discovered there is a square slab, considerably injured at the one end, but with the inscription fortunately so slightly mutilated that little difficulty can be felt in supplying the blank. The stone measures two feet six inches in greatest length, and two feet four inches in breadth. A cable-pattern border surrounds it, within which is the inscription.

This sculptured tablet is nearly the exact counterpart of another inscription found about one hundred and fifty years since in the neighbourhood of Duntocher. In the latter the number of paces is defaced in the

inscription, and unfortunately the duplicate recently discovered, which should have supplied the deficiency, is also mutilated, the break passing through where probably the additional mark of the fourth thousand originally stood. Both Horsley and Stuart guessed from the smallness of the space left for the figures in the former, that it must have been a round number, either III. or IIII. This argument is equally conclusive in regard to the inscription recently found, and the reading of four thousand paces may be accepted with little hesitation. Now that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway occupies the line of the Roman vallum, it is a question of no very grave importance whether the vexillation of the Twentieth Legion dedicated three or four thousand paces of their long obliterated wall to the Emperor whose name it bore. This tablet, however, establishes an additional fact suggested by some previous discoveries, that the legionaries were wont to erect these stones in pairs at the beginning and the end of their labours, thereby the more distinctly defining the extent of the work dedicated by them to the favourite Emperor. The inscriptions previously found at the Castlehill Station, furnish no evidence of the presence of the Twentieth Legion as the garrison of that fort. At one time it appears to have been held by a detachment of the Second Legion, Augusta: the sculptors of the curious emblematic relievos of Caledonian defeat; and at another by the fourth cohort of Gaulish auxiliaries, as we learn from the votive altar of their prefect. The former were doubtless the contemporaries of the Twentieth Legion who, located at Duntocher, reared there the Roman fort, and constructed the vallum eastward, till it joined the work of the Second Legion at Castlehill. This is confirmed by the diversity of the sculpture on the two slabs. Underneath each inscrip-

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tion is the wild boar, the cognizance almost invariably figured on the works of the Twentieth Legion. They are disposed, however, in opposite directions, so that when the slabs were placed on the southern or Roman side of the wall, so as to be seen from the adjacent military road, the boars of the twin legionary stones would face each other.¹ Still more recent agricultural operations on the Castlehill farm brought to light during the autumn of 1850, extensive indications of the remains of buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Peel Glen, where the tablet of the Twentieth Legion was discovered. The most striking feature hitherto exposed by these later operations is the sculptured base

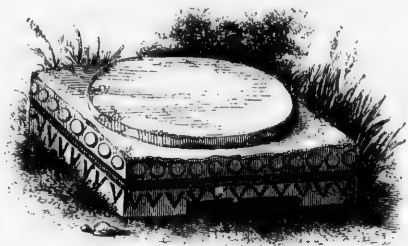


FIG. 108. — Base of Pillar.

of a column figured here ; but these chance discoveries leave little room to doubt that a systematic trenching of the area of the fort would amply repay the antiquary for his labour.

Thus minute and circumstantial is the information still recoverable at this distance of time regarding the Roman colonists of Britain. Every century yields up some further additional records ; and were we in possession of all the inscriptions graven on votive altars, or

¹ The preservation of this Scoto-Roman relic is due to the zeal of John Buchanan, Esq., its present possessor, who secured it after it had been in vain offered to the curators of the Hunterian Museum, as an appropriate addition to the Roman collection.

set up on tablets and centurial stones, we should possess more ample and authentic elements for the history of the Roman occupation of Scotland than all that classic historians supply. Sufficient, however, has been preserved to furnish a very remarkable contrast between the relics of the Roman invasion and every other class of archæological records of primitive Scottish history.

The whole of the legionary inscriptions, and nearly all the altars and other remarkable Roman remains, found on the line of the ancient vallum, have been discovered towards its western end. No railway or other great public work has traversed its eastern course. The sites of its forts are uncertain or altogether unknown, and its famous *Benval* is not yet so entirely settled as to preclude all controversy, should antiquaries think the theme worthy of further contest. From time to time some new discovery adds to our materials for the history of the Roman occupation of Scotland, and many records of the builders of the ineffectual rampart of Antoninus probably still lie embedded beneath its ruined course. It is more important for our present purpose to observe that the discoveries which have been made on some single Anglo-Roman sites exceed all that has been brought to light in Scotland truly traceable to the Roman occupancy. No archæological relics can surpass in interest the inscriptions peculiar to our Scottish wall, so precise and definitely minute in the information they have hoarded for behoof of later ages. But they are purely military records, the monuments, in reality, of Roman defeat; while of the evidences of Roman colonization and the introduction of their arts and social habits, it is far short of the truth to say, that more numerous and valuable Anglo-Roman antiquities have been brought to light within a few years at London, York, Wroxeter, Bath, or Cirencester, than all the Roman

remains in every public and private museum of Scotland could equal. With greater truth than he who first uttered the words, may we exclaim :—

“ How profitless the relics that we cull,
 Troubling the last holds of ambitious Rome,
 Unless they chasten fancies that presume
 Too high, or idle agitations lull !
 Our wishes what are they ?
 Our fond regrets tenacious in their grasp ?
 The sage's theory ? the poet's lay ?—
 Mere fibule, without a robe to clasp ;
 Obsolete lamps, whose light no time recalls ;
 Urns without ashes, tearless lachrymals ! ”¹

It is of importance to our future progress that this should be thoroughly understood. There was a time, we may be permitted to think, when English antiquaries devoted their attention somewhat too exclusively to the remains of a period on which information was less needed than on most other sections of archaeological inquiry. Still the field of Anglo-Roman antiquities is an ample one, and well merited to be explored. But when Scottish archæologists, following their example, fall to discussing the weary battle of Mons Grampius, the site of Agricola's Victoria, founded at Abernethy, Dalginross, or elsewhere ; or the site of some apocryphal station of Richard of Cirencester, unheard of till the eighteenth century : they are thrashing straw from which the very chaff has long since been gleaned to the last husk, and can only bring well-deserved ridicule on their pursuits.

In the present brief glance at the indications of Roman occupation of Scotland, little more is needed for fulfilling the plan of the work than to note a few of the most characteristic Scoto-Roman relics, including such as have either been discovered since the publication of the

¹ Wordsworth.

Caledonia Romana, or escaped the notice of its industrious and observant author. It is surprising, however, that under the latter class has to be mentioned the most beautiful specimen of Roman sculpture existing in Scotland. In the front of an ancient house in the Nether Bow of Edinburgh there stood, in the early part of last century—and how much earlier it is now vain to inquire,—two fine profile heads in high relief, the size of life, which, from the close resemblance traceable to those on the coins of Severus, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing to be representations of the Emperor Septimius Severus and his Empress Julia. They were first noticed by Gordon in 1727, and are described by Maitland about twenty years later, in a sufficiently confused manner, but with the additional local tradition that they had formerly occupied the wall of a house on the opposite side of the street. A medieval inscription, corresponding in reading and probable date of its characters to the Mentz Bible, printed about the year 1455, had been intercalated between the heads of the Emperor and Empress; but, in the recent demolition of the old house, the sculptures have been again displaced, and are now deposited in the Scottish Museum.

The discovery at Copenhagen in the year 1747 of the unique manuscript of the *De Situ Britannia*, ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, added sixty-three stations of Roman Britain to those already known from the Itinerary of Antoninus; but it admits of grave doubt how far the mysterious recovery of the medieval itinerary conferred any benefit on British archæology. The compilation of a monk of the fourteenth century, even as supplementary to the geographical details of Ptolemy and the Antonine itinerary, can hardly be received with too great caution; but used as it has sometimes been almost to supersede the elder authorities, it has in many in-

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stances, and especially in relation to our northern Roman geography, proved a source of endless confusion and error. Without, however, aiming at reconstructing the Ptolemaic map of Caledonia, we have abundant evidence that important Roman sites were established, which have received no notice in Ptolemy's geography, the Antonine Itinerary, the Notitia, or the *De Situ Britanniae* of the monk of Westminster: whom antiquaries may be pardoned suspecting to have assumed the cowl for the purpose of disguise, being in truth a monk not of the fourteenth but of the eighteenth century. Attracted by the supposed correspondence of the triple heights of the Eildon Hills to the designation of Ptolemy's *Trimontium*, General Roy sought in their neighbourhood for the evidences of a Roman station, and though less successful than he desired, he found sufficient indications of the convergence of the great military roads towards this point, to induce him to conclude "that the ancient Trimontium of the Romans was situated somewhere near these three remarkable hills, at the village of Eildon, Old Melros, or perhaps about Newstead, where the Watling Street hath passed the Tweed."¹ The sagacious guesses as to a Roman site suggested to the practical eye of General Roy, have since, as we have seen, been amply confirmed by the discovery of undoubted traces of a Roman town at the village of Newstead, on the Tweed. Stuart engraved an altar, now in the Scottish Museum, dedicated to the forest deity Silvanus, by a centurion of the Twentieth Legion; and which he describes as "a few years since discovered not far from the village of Eildon." It was in reality found at Newstead, in 1830, by a labourer digging a drain. But so early as 1783, another altar was turned up by the plough in the same locality, and after being entirely lost sight of, it has been identified with

¹ Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 116.

one in the same collection, dedicated by Ælius Marcus to the favourite Field Deities.¹ Both altars were found within a few hundred yards of each other, in a field called the Fore Ends, near the village of Newstead, which lies to the north of the Eildon Hills, and directly east of Melrose.

More recently the Hawick Railway has been carried through the vale of Melrose, and in its progress has added further evidence of the presence of the Roman colonists on the site, while the ordinary course of agricultural operations has exposed numerous foundations of buildings, Roman medals and coins, and a regular causewayed road, undoubtedly the ancient Watling Street. A considerable portion of this road, running nearly due north and south, was laid bare upwards of forty years ago, in the progress of draining a field called the "Well Meadow," immediately to the west of the Red Abbey Stead. It was about twenty feet broad, and was entirely excavated by the tenant, in order to employ its materials for constructing a neighbouring fence. In the course of removing these a sculptured stone was discovered, considerably mutilated, but still bearing, in high relief, the wild boar, the well-known device of the Twentieth Legion. As this corresponds with the inscription on the altar previously discovered in an adjoining field, there can be little question that the road-way and other military works of this important station, were executed by the same legion. Another sculptured portion of an inscribed tablet, found in the Red Abbey Stead, evidently of Roman workmanship, retains only the fragmentary letters c vi. Among the numerous foundations of ancient buildings much Roman pottery has been dug up, including the fine red Samian ware, the black, and coarser yellowish or grey fragments of amphoræ, mortaria, and

¹ J. A. Smith, M.D., *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. i. p. 30.

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other common domestic utensils. It is not improbable, indeed, that the name of Red Abbey Stead has been conferred on the site of the Roman town, owing to the colour of the soil and the characteristics of the remains of ancient building so frequently exposed, arising from the presence of numerous fragments of Roman brick and pottery. Milne, in his Description of the Parish (1743, p. 7), says: "When the ground is ploughed or ditched, the foundations of several houses are discovered, a great deal of lead got, and some curious seals." By the same means the course of the Antonine Wall may frequently be traced in the new ploughed fields on its site, where all other indications have disappeared.

Towards the close of 1846, during the excavations for the Hawick branch of the North British Railway, several



FIG. 109.—Newstead Iron Spear.

circular pits or shafts were laid open a little to the east of the village of Newstead, and nearly on the line of the Roman road, an additional portion of which was exposed by the railway cutting. Two of these shafts were regularly built round the sides with stones, apparently gathered from the bed of the river; and each measured two feet six inches in diameter, and about twenty feet deep. The others greatly varied both in width and depth, and were filled with a black fetid matter, mixed with earth, and containing numerous fragments of pottery, oyster-shells, antlers of the red deer, and bones and skulls of cattle, apparently the *Bos Longifrons*. In one of the pits from which specimens of mortaria and other remains of Roman pottery were recovered, the skeleton of a man was found, standing erect, with a spear beside him. Fig. 109, measuring fourteen inches in length. The

skull and the weapon represented here, as well as various other relics from the same locality, are now in the Scottish collection. A bronze kettle, coins, lachrymatories, Samian ware, mortaria, bricks, stones cut with familiar classic mouldings, and other remains, all attest the important character of the Roman town on this site.

Directly to the north, on the line of the road discovered in the Well Meadow, there existed the foundations of a bridge on the banks of the Tweed, described by Milne as very evident in 1743, and which also may be assumed as the work of the Twentieth Legion. Continuing northward along this Roman route, we are once more left to the guidance of the interpreters of Ptolemy and the believers in Richard of Cirencester, though it is possible with the aid both of new and old evidence to fix another portion which has heretofore been misplaced. The assigned old Roman Iter proceeds from Eildon to the supposed *Curio* or *Curia*, near Borthwick,—a site still requiring confirmation,—and thence directly to the Roman port of Cramond.

The southern shores of the *Bodotria Æstuarium*, or Firth of Forth, bear more abundant traces than almost any other Scottish district of continuous occupation by Roman colonists; doubtless owing, in part at least, to the frequent presence of the fleet in the neighbouring estuary. If *Alaterva*, to whose *Deæ Matres* one of its altars was dedicated by Tungrian devotees, be indeed the ancient name of Cramond, rather than of their distant home, no such epithet is to be found in the old itineraries; nor has a classic name been suggested for the no less important Roman town at Inveresk: unless that one zealous local antiquary¹ has conceived the possibility of establishing its claims to be the true *Curio*, hitherto

¹ D. M. Moir (*Della*), in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

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Following the course of the assigned Roman route from the supposed *Curio* at Currie, near Borthwick, it is carried by Roy, in his revised map, by a westerly sweep towards Cramond, leaving the rocky heights of Edinburgh some two miles to the east of it, and joining Inveresk, in the maps of Chalmers and Stuart, by imaginary cross-roads, sufficiently satisfactory on paper. A totally different arrangement may, however, be shown to have been followed in laying down the Roman military roads of this district. Earlier writers were not so ready to exclude the Scottish capital from Roman honours: *e.g.*,—"The town of Eaden," says Camden, "commonly called Edenborow, the same undoubtedly with Ptolemy's *Στρατοπέδον Πτερωτον*, *i.e.*, *Castrum Alatum*."¹ Sir Robert Sibbald was among the first of our Scottish authors to place a Roman colonia at Edinburgh, but without advancing any satisfactory grounds for such a conclusion.² "Some," says he, "think Edinburgh the *Caer-Eden* mentioned in the ancient authors." Others, equally bent on maintaining the honour of the Scottish metropolis, found in it the Alauna of Ptolemy, and in the neighbouring Water of Leith the Alauna Flavius: a discovery perhaps not unworthy to match with that of Richie Monipplies when he sneered down the Thames with ineffable contempt in comparison with the same favourite stream! Such arguments, like those for too many other Romano-Scottish sites, were mere theories, unsupported by evidence, and little more can be advanced in favour of the supposed *Castrum Alatum*.³ Later writers on the Roman antiquities of Scotland have accordingly excluded Edinburgh from the list of classic

¹ Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii. p. 304.

² Sibbald's *Historical Inquiry*, p. 41.

³ Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, Appendix, pp. 180-183.

localities. There are not wanting, however, satisfactory traces of Roman remains on the site of the Scottish capital, a due attention to which may help to furnish materials for a revised map of the Roman Iter.

There passes across the most ancient districts of Edinburgh, and skirting the line of its oldest fortifications, a road leading through the Pleasance,—so called from an old convent once dedicated to S. Maria de Placentia,—St. Mary's Wynd,—another conventual memorial,—Leith Wynd, St. Ninian's Row, Broughton, and Canon-mills, right onward in the direction of the ancient port of Cramond. Probably more than fourteen hundred years have elapsed since Inveresk and Cramond were finally abandoned by their Roman occupants, and the dwellings of the Eildon colony were left to crumble into ruins; yet the traces of the Romans' footsteps have not been so utterly obliterated but that we can still recover them along the line of this old road, so deeply imprinted with the tread of later generations.

In the year 1782 a coin of the Emperor Vespasian was found in a garden in the Pleasance, and presented by Dr. John Aitken to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,—the first recent recovery, so far as is known, of any indications of the Roman presence on the highway which it is now sought to retrace to a Roman origin. Much more conclusive evidence has, however, since been brought to light. In digging in St. Ninian's Row, on the west side of the Calton Hill, in 1815, for the foundations of the Regent Bridge, a quantity of fine red Samian ware, of the usual embossed character, was discovered. It was secured by Thomas Sivright, Esq. of Southhouse, and remained in his valuable collection of antiquities till the whole was sold and dispersed after his death.¹

¹ I owe this information to Mr. A. Handyside Ritchie, the well-known sculptor, who examined the Roman ware while in Mr. Sivright's collection.

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In 1822, when enlarging the drain by which the old bed of the North Loch, at the base of Edinburgh Castle, is kept dry, portions of an ancient causeway were discovered fully four feet below the modern level of the road. Some evidence of its antiquity was furnished on the demolition, in 1845, of the Trinity Hospital, formerly part of the prebendal buildings of the collegiate foundation of Queen Mary of Gueldres, founded in 1462, when it was discovered that the foundations rested on part of the same ancient causeway;¹ and on the demolition of the venerable collegiate church an opportunity was afforded me of examining another portion of it, above which the apsis of the choir and part of the north aisle had been founded. The conclusion which its appearance and construction immediately suggested, was that which further investigation so strongly confirms, that those various remains indicate the course of a Roman road. It was composed of irregular rounded stones, closely rammed together, and below them was a firm bed of forced soil coloured with fragments of brick, bearing a very close resemblance to the more southern remains of the same Roman military way recently exposed to view in the vale of Melrose. The portions of it discovered in 1822 included a branch extending a considerable way eastward along the North Back of Canongate, in a direct line towards the well-known Roman road in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, popularly styled "The Fishwives' Causeway."² Here, therefore, we recover the traces of the Roman way in its course from Eildon to Cramond and Kinneil, with a diverging road to the important

Probably all record of its locality has been lost sight of by its new possessor, if indeed it has been preserved.

¹ In 1846, Mr. Brown presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, "a stone ball, found at the Trinity Hospital, three feet below the surface, and upon a piece of causeway." *Minutes of Society*, 21st Dec. 1846.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 176.

town and harbour at Inveresk, showing beyond doubt that Edinburgh had formed an intermediate link between these several Roman sites. The direction of the road, as still visible in the neighbourhood of Cramond in the early part of the eighteenth century, completely coincided with the additional portion of it thus recovered. "From this same station of Cramond," says Gordon, "runs a noble military way towards *Castrum Alatum*, or Edinburgh; but as it comes near that city, it is wholly levelled and lost among the ploughed lands."¹

Within a few yards of the point where this ancient Roman road crosses the brow of the hill on which the ancient Scottish capital is built, stood the beautiful bas-reliefs already referred to, the heads of the Emperor SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and his wife JULIA. I have already suggested elsewhere² that these sculptures, which in Maitland's time, 1750, were said to have been removed from a house on the opposite side of the street, have probably been discovered in digging the foundations of that building. This idea has since received striking confirmation. In the progress of laying a newer and larger set of pipes for conveying water to the palace of Holyrood, in 1850, the whole line of the High Street was opened up, the workmen in many places digging into natural soil, and even through the solid rock. In the immediate neighbourhood of the site of the old "Heart of Mid-Lothian," several coins were found, including one of Henry IV. of France, bearing the date 1596; and lower down the street, two silver denarii of the Emperor Septimius Severus were discovered, in good preservation, not many feet from the locality of the Roman sculptures. The reverse of the one represents a soldier armed, and bearing the figure of victory in his right hand: legend, AVGG · VICT.; and of the other a Victory in flowing

¹ *Itiner. Septent.* p. 117.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 50

drapery, bearing in her right hand a wreath, and in the left a cornucopia; the legend: [VICT-PAR]THIC[A]. The prejudices of a strong local partiality induce me to look upon these traces of Roman presence on a spot which formed the battle-ground of Scotland during the "Douglas Wars," as well as in older struggles, with an interest which I cannot hope to communicate to archæologists in general, though to many of them it may perhaps seem a pardonable excess. The visit of the Emperor Septimius Severus, and still more, of his Empress,¹ to this distant corner of the Roman world, were incidents of a sufficiently unusual occurrence to be commemorated by those who have left records of every few thousand paces of an earthen vallum which they erected. If we suppose the road which has been traced out in continuation of the Watling Street to have been the route by which the Emperor journeyed northward, we may imagine him pausing on the brow of the hill, just above the steep slope occupied by Leith Wynd, and catching the first view of the Bodotrian Firth, with the Roman galleys gliding along its shores, or urged with sail and oar towards the busy sea-ports of Inveresk and Cramond. On this spot it seems probable that some important memorial of this distinguished Emperor's visit had been erected, of which the beautiful sculptures still remaining there formed a prominent feature. Overthrown amid the wreck of Roman empire, they may have lain interred for many centuries; for within a very short distance of their present site, recent discoveries have brought to light medieval sculptures and remains of buildings many

¹ "About this time it would appear that Julia, the wife of Severus, and the greatest part of the imperial family, were in the country of Caledonia; for Xephilia, from Dio, mentions a very remarkable occurrence which then happened to the Empress Julia and the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian," etc.—*Itiner. Septent.* p. 104.

feet below the foundations of those of the sixteenth century.¹

Those, however, are not the sole evidences of the occupation of Edinburgh by the Romans. In the *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, of date March 1742, Sir John Clerk thus describes "a Roman arch discovered at Edinborough:"—"Just about the time that your structure at York was pulled down, we had one at Edinborough which met with the same fate. It was an old arch that nobody ever imagined to be Roman, and yet it seems it was, by an urn discovered in it, with a good many silver coins, all of them common, except one of Faustina Minor, which I had not. It represents her bust on one side, and on the reverse a *lectisternium* with this inscription, SÆCULI FELICITAS."² It is much to be regretted that the information is not more precise about the other coins, and still more about the arch in which so remarkable a deposit was found. Such as it is, however, it is of great value. From time to time additional traces of the former presence of the Roman legionaries come to light. The donations to the Society of Antiquaries in 1806, included "a Roman coin found in digging the foundation of a house in Leith Walk;" and during the excavation for a large reservoir erecting on the Castlehill, in 1850, among various remarkable discoveries, to be afterwards noticed, there was found another relic of the Empire, a single copper coin, in excellent preservation, struck under Constantine the Great.

Pennant describes in his *Second Tour*, "certain curiosities in a small but select private cabinet," found in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, which had escaped his notice on his former visit. Notwithstanding their great

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 34.

² *Biblio. Topog. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 348.

local value, they have experienced the usual fate of private collections, and are no longer known. "Among other antiquities in the cabinet of Mr. John Macgouan, discovered near this city, is an elegant brass image of a beautiful Naiad, with a little satyr in one arm. On her head is a wine-vat or some such vessel, to denote her an attendant on Bacchus; and beneath one foot a subverted vase, expressive of her character as a nymph of the fountains." If this beautiful group still exists the description must render it easily identified. Other relics in the same private collection, and it may be assumed, from the connexion, included in Pennant's description as discovered in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, are a bronze vessel with a perforated top, possibly designed for incense, and an iron scourge or *flagrum*, one of the dreadful instruments of torture used by the Romans, chiefly for the discipline of slaves, but afterwards employed in the persecutions of the primitive Christians. Lastly, it is not unworthy of note, in passing, that the foundations of the ancient Chapel of St. Margaret, in the Castle, an early Romanesque work, enclose bricks which may possibly be only fragments of medieval floor-tiles, but more readily suggest the idea of their being derived from older Roman buildings. Similar Roman traces remained in the contemporary Church of St. Michael at Inveresk, until its recent demolition; and are still recognised amid the later masonry of Dumbarton Castle, the *THEODOSIA* of Richard of Cirencester. Independently of this, however, evidence enough has, I think, been adduced to establish the fact of the Romans having occupied the site of Edinburgh, though the most important proofs pertain to a later date than the *Castrum Alatum* of Ptolemy. Nor was it altogether without reason that this was assumed as probable by older Scottish antiquaries, since

the admirable military positions presented by the locality are too obvious to have escaped the practised eyes of the Roman engineers established on the neighbouring coast; and the mere fact of the Roman roads from Newstead, Cramond, and Inveresk, all meeting in the valley between the Calton and the Castle Hills, is of itself presumptive evidence in favour of a Roman post having occupied the site.

It need not excite surprise that traces of Roman occupation should be found in localities unnoted in the pages of Ptolemy, whose great work only embraces the period of earliest Roman intrusion beyond the Tyne. We may rather wonder that history should furnish the amount of information it does regarding the presence of



FIG. 110.—Bronze Lamp found at Currie.

the legions in a country from which they returned with such dubious accounts of triumph. Among the Romano-British relics in the Scottish Museum, are a circular bronze ornament, an elegant foot of a bronze tripod in form of a horse's leg and hoof, and a small figure of Minerva on a pedestal of brass gilt, measuring nearly three inches high, all found at different times in East Lothian. In the same collection are also preserved a bronze stamp, discovered near the village of Carrington, Mid-Lothian, bearing the inscription, reversed, in bold relief, TVLLIAE TACITAE; and a bronze key of undoubted Roman workmanship, found within a camp-kettle, in a moss near North-Berwick Law. In addition to those must be noted the exceedingly beautiful bronze lamp,

four and three-fifth inches in length (Fig. 110), found along with a small and rudely executed bronze eagle, at Currie, Mid-Lothian. These relics suffice at least to establish the fact, that the Roman road had passed through that line of country. They add, however, very slight addition to the unsatisfactory evidence on which the last-named place has been assumed to be the site of the Roman Curio: heretofore on little better authority than the correspondence between the ancient and modern names. Gordon describes another "most curious Roman lamp of brass, adorned with a variety of engravings," found at Castlecary;¹ and whenever renewed attention has been directed to the subject, additional evidence proves how frequent are the discoveries of such stray proofs of the former presence of the imperial masters of the world.

"As you very well notice," writes Sir John Clerk to his friend and correspondent Mr. Roger Gale, "Ptolemy mistook several Latin names when he rendered them into Greek. Of this kind, as I suspect, is his Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον, *Castrum Alatum*, which our antiquarians have applied to Edinburgh. I rather believe that the place designed by Ptolemy is an old Roman station on the sea coast, which we call Cramond, and that it was anciently called, not *Castra Alata* but *Alatervum*, or *Castra Alaterna*." To this Mr. Gale replies, with equally cogent arguments for restoring the *Castra Alata* to the winged heights of Edinburgh, on which we need not enter here, having already sufficiently discussed the question of the latter's claims as a Roman site. While, however, Edinburgh has undergone the ceaseless changes which centuries bring round to a densely populated locality, Cramond was in all probability abandoned to solitude, or at most occupied by a few fishermen's huts

¹ *Itiner. Septent.* p. 57.

when deserted by its Roman founders. Hence the traces of its ancient colonists have been discovered in great abundance in recent times. An almost incredible number of coins and medals, in gold, silver, and bronze, have been found at different periods, of which Gordon mentions between forty and fifty of special note which he examined in Sir John Clerk's possession. Sibbald, Horsley, and Wood, all refer in similar terms to the valuable numismatic treasures gathered on this Roman site, including an almost unbroken series of imperial coins from Augustus to Diocletian; and thereby proving that the ancient seaport had not been abandoned to utter solitude on the retreat of Severus. Some rare and valuable medals have also been discovered among its ruins, including one of the Emperor Septimius Severus, inscribed on the reverse, *FVNDATOR PACIS*, and supposed to have been struck to give the character of a triumph to the doubtful peace effected by him with the Caledonians.¹ Three altars have been found at Cramond; one sacred to Jove, one to the *Deæ Matres*, and the third, a mutilated fragment, figured by Horsley, and assigned by him, as well as by later writers, to the favourite forest deity *Silvanus*. The obvious resemblance, however, of the sculpture on the last altar to an Anglo-Roman mosaic, now in the British Museum, representing the sea-god Neptune with horns of lobster's claws, and dolphins proceeding from his mouth, leaves little room for doubt that the colonists of the chief Roman port on the Bodo-trian Firth had more appropriately dedicated their altar to the ruler of the waves.² The large altar found at Cramond, dedicated to the Supreme Jove, formerly in the Advocates' Library, and now deposited in the Scot-

¹ *Sibbald*, p. 83; *Itiner. Septent.* p. 117; *Horsley*, p. 205; *Wood's Cramond*, p. 4; *Caledon. Romana*, p. 163.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 120.

tish Antiquarian Museum, has been frequently engraved. It is thus inscribed :—

I O M
COH · V · GALL ·
CVI · PRÆEST
IMINE · HONV¹⁸
TERTVLLVS
PRAEF · V · SL
L · M

Its well-known inscription is repeated here, in order to associate it with another relic found at Cramond, probably prior to the discovery of this altar, which attests the presence of the same Prefect, Honorius Tertullus, at the Roman seaport. Among the numerous objects acquired by Sir John Clerk from this locality, and now preserved at Penicuik House, is a bronze stamp, surmounted by a crescent, bearing the words, in reversed letters of half an inch in height, TERTVLL · PROVINC., and on the back is a ring-handle in form of a bay leaf. A centurial inscription of the Second Legion, Augusta, a sculptured figure of the imperial eagle grasping the lightning in its talons, with numerous carved stones, bricks, flue-tiles, and pottery, have from time to time been recovered on the same Roman site. To these may be added another inscription, derived from the Morton MS., presented in 1827 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Susan, Countess-Dowager of Morton. It is indorsed, "Ancient inscriptions of stones found in Scotland," and is supposed to have been written by James, Earl of Morton, president of the Royal Society, who died in 1786. Some of the inscriptions appear to have been derived from Camden and other well-known authorities; but others, including the following imperfect relic, are probably nowhere else preserved. Even in its extremely mutilated and fragmentary state, it is,

perhaps, not altogether unworthy of preservation. It is thus described,—“This inscription is on a stone on the east end of the church of Cramond, in West Lothian [*Mul-Lothian*], being three foot long, and one foot and a half broad, having four lyons drawn on it, all being almost worn out,”

. . . G PVBLIVS CR . .
 . . IN POMPONIAN . .

 PAT · P · D · D . . .

This inscription escaped the notice of Wood when preparing his history of the parish, or was perhaps thought to be too imperfect to be worth recording, and it now no longer exists.

Another Scottish stream bearing the name of the Almond forms a tributary of the Tay, and is also associated, by remarkable discoveries on its banks, with the memory of the legionary invaders. A Roman camp, once in good preservation, has been nearly obliterated by the encroachment of the stream on its banks; but the changes which destroyed its entrenchments have brought to light still more satisfactory traces of their constructors. The most interesting of these is a pig of lead 73 lbs. in weight, marked thus—(M J XXXX^{II}, beside which lay the remains of a helmet and spear, nearly consumed by rust. Another stamped pig of lead was found at Kirkintilloch, on the line of the wall; and a third, weighing about two cwt., and stamped IMP · CAES · HADRIANI · AVG · T · M · LV, was dug up on the banks of the Carron in 1849, during the construction of the Midland Railway.¹ But like most others of the more remarkable Roman remains, pigs of lead are of rare occurrence in Scotland; though such have been re-

¹ *Stirling Observer*, September 19, 1850. MS. Antiquarian Notes, W. Grosart.

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peatedly recovered on southern sites, and examples from several English localities, inscribed with the names and titles of Roman Emperors, are preserved in the British Museum, as well as in various private collections. One of those, marked IMP · ADRIANI · AVG, was found near the lead mines of Mr. More of Linley Hall, county Salop, where an old drift, distinguished from those of modern date by various evidences of imperfect mining, is still designated the Roman Vein. Ancient mining tools have been found in it, and in the opinion of Sir R. I. Murchison, the block of lead is the product of the neighbouring British mine.¹

But by far the most remarkable of the recently discovered remains of the Roman occupants of North Britain



FIG. 111.—Roman Oculist's Stamp.

is a medicine stamp, acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, along with a valuable collection of antiquities, bequeathed to them by E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., formerly one of the secretaries of the Society. From his notes it appears that it was found in the immediate vicinity of Tranent Church, East Lothian, in a quantity of debris, broken tiles, and brick-dust, which may possibly have once formed the residence and laboratory of Lucius Vallatinus, the Roman oculist, whose name this curious relic supplies. It consists of a small cube of pale green-stone, two and three-fifth inches in length, and engraved on two sides as in the annexed wood-cut; the letters being reversed for the purpose of stamping the unguents or other medicaments retailed

¹ *Silurian System*, p. 270.

by its original possessor. The inscriptions read, L. VALLATINI EVODES AD CICATRICES ET ASPRITUDINES, which may be rendered, The euodes of Lucius Vallatinus for cicatrices and granulations; and on the reverse, L. VALLATINI A PALO CROCODES AD DIATHESES, the mild crocodes, or preparation of saffron, of L. Vallatinus, for affections of the eyes.¹ The Euodes and the Crocodes are both prescriptions given by Galen, and occur on other medicine stamps. Several examples have been found in England, and many in France and Germany, supplying the names of their owners and the terms of their preparations. Many of the latter are for diseases of the eye, and hence they have most commonly received

L VALLATINI EVODES AD CI
CATRICES ET ASPRITVDIN

L VALLATINI A PALO CRO
CODES AD DIATHESES

FIG. 112.—Roman Oculist's Stamp.

the name of Roman oculists' stamps. No example, however, except the one figured here, has occurred in Scotland; and amid legionary inscriptions, military votive altars, and sepulchral tablets, it is peculiarly interesting to stumble on this intelligent memento, restoring to us the name of the old Roman mediciner who ministered to the colonists of the Lothians the skill, and perchance also the charlatantry, of the healing art.

Apart from the stations on the Antonine Wall and the fertile regions of the Lothians, no district of Scotland

¹ Between sixty and seventy medicine stamps are now known; and two specimens of pottery have been found in France impressed with similar prescriptions: evidently the vessels in which the preparations were preserved. Since the first edition of this work, Professor J. Y. Simpson has elucidated the whole subject with great learning and research in a series of papers in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*.

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has been so fruitful in remains of Roman art and military skill as the country of the Selgovæ, and especially Birrens, the supposed BLATUM BULGIUM of Antoninus. To the materials for the Scoto-Roman history of this province I am fortunately able to make additions from various sources. The following tablet, thus oddly located in the Morton ms., belongs to the district of the Selgovæ,—"This inscription is in a house of Jockie Graham's in Eskdale, fixed in a wall, set up, as appears by the Legio Augusta Secunda, in memorial of the Emperor Hadrian ;"

IMP · CÆS · TRA · HAD
RIANO · AVG ·
LEG II · AVG · F ·

The successor of Trajan, we know, visited our island soon after his accession to the purple ; but he was hastily summoned away to quell an insurrection at another extremity of his unwieldy empire on the banks of the Nile, and was glad to abandon the line where Agricola had reared his forts, for that finally adopted by Septimius Severus as the northern limits of imperial sway. Camden mentions an inscription, the counterpart of this, dug up at Netherby,¹ and Pennant describes another nearly similar (possibly, indeed, the Eskdale tablet), which he examined among the antiquities at Hoddam Castle, Dumfriesshire.² All the inscriptions, however, transcribed by the latter at Hoddam Castle, are understood, where not otherwise specified, to be from the neighbouring station of Birrens, in which case the Eskdale tablet forms an important addition to the traces of the elder Emperor Hadrian, found thus far within the transsural province. The legionary tablets of the Scottish Wall are its most

¹ Gough's *Camden*, p. 834.

² Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 411.

interesting relics. Notwithstanding the number of altars and inscriptions found along the line of the southern wall, only two or three have borne the name of either of the Emperors to whom its erection is ascribed, and none of them exactly correspond to the Scottish legionary stones. So rare, indeed, are memorials of Septimius Severus, that Gordon characterizes the discovery by Roger Gale of one bearing the name of that Emperor, in the foundation of Hexham Church, Northumberland, as "a very precious jewel of antiquity."¹

Leaving Eskdale for Annandale, we find ourselves within the interesting locality which includes both the stations of Birrens and Birrenswark Hill. Here have been discovered hypocausti, granaries, altars; a ruined temple, with the full figure, as is supposed, of the goddess Brigantia, inscribed with the name of AMANDUS the architect, who erected it in obedience to Imperial commands; the pedestal and torso of a colossal statue of the god Mercury; a mutilated statue of Fortune, the fruit of a vow in gratitude for restored health, performed by a Prefect of one of the Tungrian cohorts; a sepulchral tablet, dedicated by her mother to the shade of Pervica, a Roman maiden who faded under our bleak northern skies; with numerous other evidences of an important Roman station. A few of the Birrens inscriptions and other antiquities belong to the earlier years of the Roman presence in Scotland; but the greater number are works of the later era of the province of Valentia, and characterized by the debased style of art which stamps nearly all the provincial Roman works of the third and fourth centuries. Confining any detailed accounts, however, to such relics as have not been previously described: in 1810 a beautiful altar, dedicated to Minerva, was dug up at Birrens by Mr. Clow of Laud, and is described in Mr.

¹ *Miner. Septent.* p. 84.

W. S. Irvine's MS.¹ as serving (in 1815) as the pedestal to a sun-dial in the garden of George Irving, Esq., at his seat of Burnfoot, near Ecclefechan. It measures fifty inches in height by twenty-two inches in breadth, and about nine inches in thickness, the back being as usual roughly cut for standing against the wall. It presents an unusual display of ornament, being decorated with vine-leaves, birds, fishes, and various architectural details. The inscription, which is in the highest state of preservation, is—

DEAE
MINERVAE
COH II TVN
GRORVM
MIL EQ C L
CVI PRÆEST C S L
AVSPEX PRÆF

which has been rendered: DEÆ MINERVÆ, COHORS SECUNDA TUNGRORUM, MILIARIA EQUITATA CIVIUM LATINORVM, CUI PRÆEST CAIUS SILVIUS AUSPEX PRÆFECTUS.² This altar remained a few years since, and I believe still exists, as here described. But it is no solitary addition to the relics of this second cohort of the Tungrians, whose memorials are even more abundant than those of the Second Legion, Augusta, on the wall of Antoninus. The Tungrians were among the first Roman legions to enter Scotland, and appear to have been long stationed at *Blatum Bulgium*. It was, indeed, to two Tungrian and three Batavian cohorts that Agricola was principally indebted for his victory over Calgacus. The valuable collection of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., included three other altars, found about the year 1812 at Birrens, all of

¹ MSS. and Drawings by Mr. W. S. Irvine, sent to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1815, along with proposals for publishing a work to be entitled, *Regnum Cambæens*.

² *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, Rev. J. McCaul, LL.D., p. 245.

them the fruits of pious vows by the same Tungrian cohort. The largest of these, Fig. 113, a beautiful altar, in the very finest state of preservation, appears, from its inscription, to have been the work of the same prefect by whom the previous altar was dedicated to Minerva. It measures fifty-five and a half inches in height by thirty inches in greatest breadth at top, and twenty and a quarter inches across the inscribed front. The inscription is thus read :¹



FIG. 113.—Birrens Altar.

MARTI ET VICTORIAE AUGUSTAE
CIVES RAETI MILITANTES IN CO-
HORTE SECUNDA TUNGRORUM, CUI
PRAEEST SILVIUS AUSPEX, PRAE-
FECTUS. VOTUM SOLVERUNT LUB-
BENTES MERITO. The second of
these altars found at Birrens measures thirty-six inches
high, by fourteen and five-eighth inches in greatest
breadth, and is thus inscribed :—

DIB • DE
AB • Q
OMNB
FRUMENT
IVS MIL COH II
TVNGR •

It may be read : DIIS DEABUSQUE OMNIBUS FRUMENTIUS
MILES COHORTIS SECUNDAE TUNGRORUM. The third altar,
which is of simpler and ruder workmanship, measures
forty-three and three-quarter inches in height, by twenty-
three and three-quarter inches in greatest breadth. It
appears to be dedicated by certain Velauni, a people of
Gallia Celtica, or Aquitania,² serving in the second Tun-

¹ Vide *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 244.

² *Ibid.* p. 241.

grian Cohort, to one of those obscure local deities which have puzzled learned antiquaries in the Latinized forms their names assume in Roman inscriptions. It belongs to a class of relics peculiarly interesting, notwithstanding the obscurity of their dedications, as the transition-link between the Roman mythology and that of the various nations subdued by their arms. These altars of the adopted native deities are generally rude and inferior in design, as if indicative of their having their origin in the piety of some provincial legionary subaltern. In the obscure gods and goddesses thus commemorated, we most probably recognise the names of favourite local divinities of the barbarian legionaries and the Romanized Britons, originating for the most part from the adoption into the tolerant Pantheon of Rome of the older objects of native superstitious reverence. One altar found at Birrens is sacred to the goddess Harimella; and others, from various localities, are devoted to the British Field Deities; to the *Deæ Matres Britannicæ*; and as already noted, in the most interesting inscription of the whole class, on one of the altars of Marcus Cocceius Firmus, found at Auchindavy, with its dedication *GENIO TERRÆ BRITANNICÆ*. The altar now referred to pertains, like others found at Birrens, to the second Tungrian cohort, and is thus inscribed, by the men of the Vellavian district serving in that cohort, to a goddess named apparently *Ricagama* of Beda; though the form of the contracted name, with its accompanying local designation, admits of different readings: ¹—

DEAE RICAGAM
BEDAE PAGV^a
VELLAVS MILIT
COH II TVNG
V S L M

¹ *Vide Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 202; *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, Rev. J. McCaul, LL.D., p. 243.

Besides those interesting memorials of the Tungrians, Mr. Sharpe possessed a fourth altar from the same locality, which, though seen by Pennant at Hoddam Castle, has been so inaccurately transcribed by him, that it deserves a place among the unnoted Roman remains.¹ The inaccuracies, though great literally, are not of very essential importance, except in the name assumed by the cohort, which he renders NERVIVRUM MILLE. It measures forty-eight inches in height, by twenty-two and three-eighth inches in breadth at top, and is thus dedicated to the fickle goddess :—

FORTVNAE

COH I

NERVANA

GERMANOR

∞ EQ

By means of the Irvine MS. another altar pertaining to the same cohort is recovered, dedicated to the Father of Olympus. It is a plain squared stone, measuring four feet in height, two feet in breadth, and thirteen inches in thickness, without any ornament or moulding to relieve its bald form. It is stated by Mr. Irvine to have been taken out of the heart of the wall of the old church at Hoddam, when demolished, in 1815. The inscription, which is complete, and clearly legible, is as follows :—

I O M

COH • I • NERVANA

GERMANOR • ∞ • EQ

CVI PRAEEST L FANI

VS FELIX TRIB

To these altars there only remains to be added another dedicated to Jove, derived from the same MS. It was dug up in 1814, in what Mr. Irvine describes as a small

¹ The altar is now deposited, along with the others, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

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vicinal camp on the banks of the Kirtle, near Springkell, the elegant mansion of Sir J. H. Maxwell, Bart. It is of simple form, being relieved only by a small moulding a little way from the top. But the thuribulum is very carefully executed, and on the right side is a præfericulum sculptured in relief. The mutilated inscription reads thus :—I. O. M... NINVS... I FECIT. P P.

But besides such relics of Pagan worship, another sepulchral tablet preserves a contemporary memorial of fraternal affection such as pertains exclusively to no creed or time. It is figured on a note of Mr. Irvine's, which appears to have accompanied the drawing of the



FIG. 114.—Birrens Sepulchral Tablet.

altar of Minerva, found at Birrens, and may therefore be presumed, like that dedicated to the shade of Pervica, to have formed another of the numerous Roman remains which attest the importance of the station of Blatum Bulgium. It is thus dedicated to the manes of Constantina, the infant daughter of Philus Magnus, who died at the age of one year, eight months, and nine days,—apparently by her brother : assuming that the letters on the pediment should be read, *Frater fieri curavit*.

Those examples, while they serve to illustrate the traces of the Roman invasion found in Scotland, furnish additional materials for its history. The circumstances

under which some of them have been discovered, and the fact that so many inedited inscriptions should remain to be described, after the recent researches of the author of the *Caledonia Romana*, suffice to show how many more such relics must have disappeared, without an opportunity being afforded to the archæologist of noting their pregnant records.

To these may be added the following meagre list of Potters' Stamps: all that I have been able to recover pertaining to Roman Scotland. This, however, arises from no paucity of materials. Mr. C. K. Sharpe informed me that in his early years he remembered to have seen large accumulations of broken Samian ware and other Roman pottery dug up at Birrenswark. The same is also known to have occurred both at Inveresk and Cramond; and during the progress of construction of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway in 1841, a mass of debris about twelve feet deep was cut through on the site of the Castlecary Fort, which led to the exposure of a quantity of broken pottery, including sundry fine specimens of embossed Samian ware, along with fragments of mortaria, amphoræ, etc., in great abundance. Had the person intrusted by the noble proprietor, the Earl of Zetland, to take care of any relics that might be discovered, been sufficiently aware of the interest attached to the potters' stamps, a large addition to the Scottish list would probably have been the result. As it was, however, he only served effectually to prevent this being accomplished. My friend, Mr. John Buchanan, a zealous Scottish antiquary, who visited Castlecary for the purpose, was prohibited from touching anything within the charmed circle; and, accordingly, these evidences of Roman art are mostly buried below the railway embankment, for rediscovery by other generations, when railway viaducts shall be as obsolete relics as Roman vallums now are. Within the

area of the station a neatly cut centurial inscription was discovered, and is now preserved in the Scottish Museum, to which it was presented by the Earl of Zetland. It bears the inscription: COHORTIS SEXTÆ CENTURIA ANTONII ARATI, thus abbreviated:—

CHO VI
O ANTO
ARATI.

It is only very recently, even in England, that the names of the potters, stamped on Roman fictile ware, have attracted much attention or been carefully recorded. Through the exertions of Mr. Charles Roach Smith and other zealous archaeologists, we are now in possession of ample means for comparing new discoveries with the potters' stamps of London, Colchester, and York; but no collection of Scoto-Roman pottery exists, so far as I am aware, with the exception of the few specimens in the Scottish Museum. The following apology for a Scottish list must therefore meanwhile suffice. It may perhaps form the nucleus of a more ample one at a subsequent period, by which to enable us to test the question of native or foreign manufacture, and to trace out the sources from whence the Roman colonists of Britain imported their finer fictile wares. The Scottish Museum furnishes a few curious specimens from Castlecary, some of which are given here in fac-simile. The first occurs on the fine black ware, and looks like the imperfect attempt of some native or provincial potter to imitate a Roman stamp which he probably could not read. The second and third may be most fitly described as cuneiform. The larger of the two is on thin unglazed red ware. The fourth is on a patera of fine glazed Samian ware, and furnishes a good example of ligulate letters, which English antiquaries are familiar with, not only on the pottery, but also on the altars and inscribed tablets



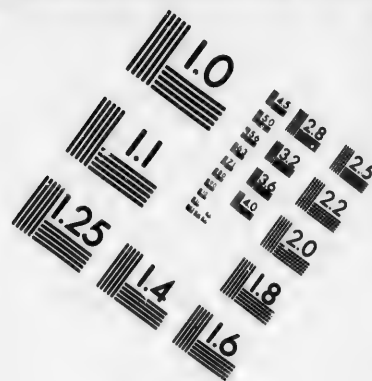
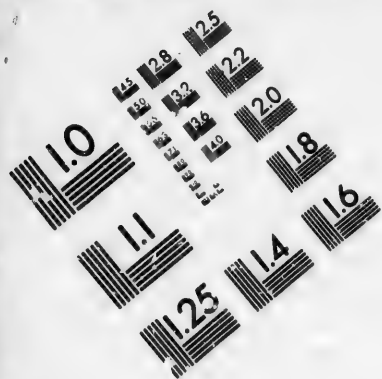
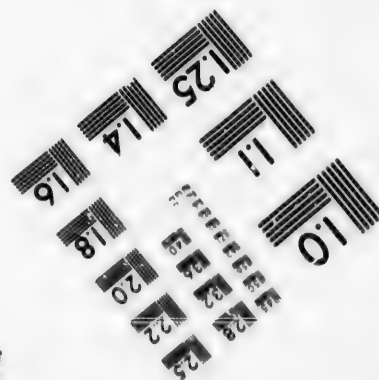
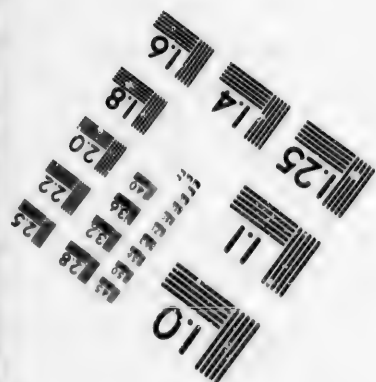
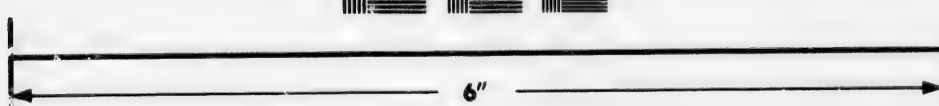
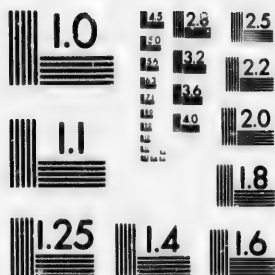


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of the Anglo-Roman period. All these impressions are clear and distinct, so that their peculiarities are designed. Two of the other Castlecary stamps were furnished me by Mr. Buchanan, and the remainder are in my own possession, having been picked up in the neighbourhood of the railway embankment since its completion. For those from Newstead I am chiefly indebted to Dr. J. A. Smith ; and from Falkirk to Mr. W. Grosart.



FIG. 115.—Pottery Stamps.

<i>Castlecary.</i>	<i>Duntocher.</i>
PATIRATH OF	BRVSC F ²
VNFO IO (?) ¹	
IAIV	<i>Cramond.</i>
LIBER IM	CARVS F
IRSECA	ADJECTI
WILHVI	OF VAL ^o
OF · CAL	OF IVCVN
SACIRAPO	
AESTIV M	<i>Birrens.</i>
PRISCVS F	SAC · EROR
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AHIM	<i>Newstead.</i>
[ÆST][V]M	W · SEC · V · F · O
MAR · IV · M	DVRIVS · F
	OXMII
<i>Falkirk.</i>	RVRFI · MA
MARCI ³	OINC · I
DEIAI ⁴	OIVSCI ²
NOCTVRNA ⁵	CIV ²
OPCAL ⁶	M · I · M ¹

¹ Amphoræ. ² Mortaria. ³ Terra cotta lamp. ⁴ Fine Samian cup, found south of Dorrater, in cutting the Midland Railway.—W. G. *Stirling Observer*, Jan. 30, 1854. ⁵ *Stirling Observer*, Mar. 4, 1852. W. G. ⁶ Small Samian cups found at Grahamston. W. Grosart.

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For those
J. A. Smith ;

A handle of a Scoto-Roman amphora in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, the exact locality of the discovery of which is unknown, is stamped with the letters M. P. F. The Roman fictilia in the same collection also include terra-cotta lamps from several Scottish localities. One of singular type, in the form of a broad leaf, with the veins strongly marked in relief, was found at Chester Knowes, near Chirnside, Berwickshire, the site as is believed of a temporary camp. Another is from Castlecary, and a third from Birrens. Besides those, urns, lachrymatories, fragments of mortaria, amphoræ, and Samian and other wares, all suffice to show the correspondence of the Roman fictile ware of Scotland and England.



FIG. 116.—Dentated Bronze Ring.

Among minor relics belonging to the same period, the dentated bronze ring figured here, from the original in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, is worthy of some note from the rarity of such objects in Britain. It was discovered near Merlsford, on the river Eden, Fifeshire, and closely corresponds to another example found in Suffolk, and figured in the *Archæological Journal*, where it is remarked that objects of this kind are frequently met with in Continental collections, but have rarely, if ever, been found in this country.¹ They occur with one, two, and three rows of teeth. Sir Samuel Meyrick describes them as dentated rings, the form

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. vi. p. 181.

apparently suggested by the *Murex* shell, and supposes them to have been attached to the whirling arm of a military flail.

Such are some of the traces of the Roman occupation of Scotland. From the few direct statements of classical historians who have thought our northern region worthy of notice, we are led to infer that the natives were in a state of extreme degradation and barbarism. Yet the same authors show that these barbarians fought in chariots, were armed with swords, lances, bucklers, and poniards, and were capable of offering the most formidable resistance to the veteran legions. Still more, we find that the Caledonians never settled down, either in contented peace or in passive despair, under the Roman yoke. Experience of the legions did not intimidate them; and at length Septimius Severus, one of the ablest of the Roman emperors, was compelled to employ the arts of the diplomatist rather than of the soldier, ere he abandoned them once more to their wild freedom. We may indeed question if this remote region could be worth the labour of conquest; but when once occupied we see in the remains of Roman works abundant reasons why the conquerors should wish to retain it. Our chief inquiry however is, To what extent did this brief and partial Roman occupation affect the native manners and arts? The answer, I think, must be, that its influence was partial and transitory. Like an unwonted tide, the flood of Roman invasion swept beyond its natural limits, disturbing and effacing many things long unaffected by change. But the tide ebbed nearly as rapidly as it had flowed, and at most only helped to prepare the soil for a new growth. Neither the manners, the faith, nor the social habits of the invaders could be acceptable to the natives, though their superior arts and military skill would not fail to be appreciated, and must have been

turned to good account. As, however, we have traced earlier arts and discoveries passing onward from the south to the tribes of the north, and effectually revolutionizing all their primitive habits : so, too, the increasing civilisation of the Anglo-Roman provinces must have extended its fruits beyond the Tyne, and effected a more immediate and rapid change than the influence of the same Roman civilisation is seen to have done on Ireland or Denmark, where no legionary invaders constructed their entrenchments or established their colonies.

The most remarkable native structure traceable to the influence and example of Roman arts is the "Deil's Dike," a vast rampart of earth and stone strengthened by a fosse, which passes across many miles of country, through Galloway and Nithsdale. This singular British vallum has excited less attention than its magnitude and great extent seem to demand. It has been traced through a much larger district of country than the whole length of the Antonine Wall ; and though it lacks the historic interest of that structure and the valuable legionary inscriptions found along its line, it is nevertheless a singular evidence of combined action and primitive engineering skill. Mr. Joseph Train remarks of it : "As it passes from Torregan to Dranandow, it runs through a bog, and is only perceptible by the heather growing long and close on the top of it ; whereas, on each side the soil only produces rushes and moss. Near the centre of the bog I caused the pent to be cleared away close to the dike, and thereby found the foundation to be several feet below the surface, which appeared to me a sure indication of its great antiquity." This ancient wall measures eight feet broad at the base, and is mostly built of rough unhewn blocks of moor-stone or trap. In districts where stone is more inaccessible

sible it is constructed of stones mixed with earth and clay, and at some few points it is entirely of earth. It has been strengthened at intervals with fortified stations, like the Roman walls, from which its model is supposed to be derived. One of these, on the height above Glendochart, is a circular fort 190 yards in diameter. Another fort is situated on a well-chosen, commanding height, called the Hill of Ochiltree, on the east side of Loch Maberrie. The fosse, which is still traceable along a great part of the wall, is on its north side, from whence we are justified in inferring that the vallum was reared by the natives of the southern districts. It is, of course, impossible to assign the age or the builders of this ancient structure with certainty. History is silent on the subject; and it is a fact well worthy of note, in reference to previous remarks on the possibility of many noteworthy deeds having passed unchronicled to oblivion. The very name which ascribes its origin to the Master Fiend shows how completely tradition has lost every clue to its builders. Yet the civilisation which led to such combined exertion as was needed both for the erection and defence of such an extent of wall must have been considerable. History has doubtless burdened itself with the charge of meaner themes. The correspondence of the general design to the two Roman walls seems to point to its erection by the southern Britons after the departure of the Romans, when we knew that they frequently suffered from inroads of the northern tribes. The circular forts along the line of the Deil's Dike also furnish a curious link connecting it at once with the older Roman and the native military works, while they present a striking contrast to the camps and wall-stations of the Roman legionaries.

Cæsar refers to the Britons in his time as using imported bronze. But he had no personal knowledge of

the mineral districts of England, where copper and tin had been wrought for ages prior to Roman intrusion. Whether iron was manufactured in Britain before the Roman Invasion it is now perhaps impossible to determine from direct evidence, but the familiarity of the Romans with the mineral wealth of England at an early period gives probability to the supposition that they found native workings of iron and lead as well as of tin and copper. Tacitus refers in general terms to the metallic wealth of Britain; Pliny alludes to the smelting of iron; and Solinus speaks of its use in the manufacture of weapons and agricultural implements. But whether the Romans originated, or only followed up the native workings, in mining for lead and iron, it is unquestionable that they gave a new impetus to the application of the metals to economic purposes. Roman pottery and glass, coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Diocletian, and other undoubted evidences of a Roman origin, have been discovered among the accumulated beds of scoriæ and other refuse of ancient forges in Sussex. Similar traces of iron-foundries accompanied with Roman coins have been observed in Yorkshire and other northern counties. Two altars found at different times,—the last at Benwell, in Northumberland, dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, the protector of iron-works,—add still further evidence of the extent to which this useful metal was wrought during the Anglo-Roman period.¹ The forest of Dean also is familiar to English archæologists for its extensive mines and shafts, its beds of scoriæ, and other remains of ancient forges, among which have been found unquestionable traces of the Roman presence. Similar works are not to be looked for in Scotland, where few indisputable traces have yet been detected even of the working

¹ M. A. Lower on the Manufacture of Iron in Britain by the Romans, *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. iv. p. 265.

of the superficial clay. Many remains of ancient forges are, however, known in various districts, both to the north and south of the Antonine Wall, though generally unaccompanied by relics assignable to any precise period. Traces of an extensive iron forge are still obvious on the "Fir Isle," a peninsular promontory on the Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, a locality peculiarly rich in its archæological disclosures, including crannoges, rude canoes, and other primitive remains. During the construction of the great military road through the same district, a large mound was levelled at a place called Buchan's Croft, near the three thorns of the Carlinwark, which proved to be a mass of scorise and cinders, such as are generally left from a forge. To this the older traditions of Galloway assign a comparatively recent date, marking it as the spot where the famed Scottish cannon Mons Meg was manufactured in the fifteenth century.¹ But similar remains in the Roman districts of Lanarkshire are unhesitatingly attributed, in the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Dalziel, to operations of the Roman colonists. "The great Roman highway, commonly called Watling Street, went along the summit of this parish from east to west, but its course is now much defaced by modern improvements. In one place, however, near the centre of that parish, it has been preserved entire, so as to point out the line to after times: the cross stone, the emblem of the baron's jurisdiction, being placed upon it, and that fenced by a large clump of trees planted around. At this place lies a large heap of the cinders of the Roman forges still untouched."²

In many of the uncultivated districts of Scotland iron ore occurs in forms already noted as the most easily adapted for conversion into metal; and it is by no means

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. iv. Kirkcudbrightshire, p. 159.

² *Sinclair's Statist. Acc.* vol. iii. p. 458.

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improbable that such sources may have supplied it to the native metallurgists, long before they had learned the difficult processes requisite for working the iron-stone. Whencesoever the art was derived, numerous Highland traditions, and even the names of particular localities, point to the excellency of the ancient Celtic smiths. Blair-Atholl, for example, a district abounding with cairns and other primitive memorials, has its *Dail-na-Cardoch* : the dale of the smith's shop, or rather of the iron work ; and *Dail-na-mein* : the dale of the mineral. “Near these,” says the old Statist of the parish of Blair-Atholl, “and along the side of the hill, down to Blair, are still to be seen the holes wherein they smelted the iron ore.” Similar pits scattered over the northern moors are described as the kilns in which peats were charred



FIG. 117.—Iron Forge-Tongs.

for smelting. “There is still to be seen in Glenturret,” says Logan in his *Scottish Gael*, “a shieling called *Rennua Cardick*, — the smith's dwelling, — with the ruins of houses, heaps of ashes, and other indications of an iron manufactory. Old poems mention it as a work where the metal, of which swords and other arms were made some miles lower down the valley, was prepared. In Sutherland also are distinct marks of the smelting and working of iron with fires of wood.”¹ In Islay is still shown the spot where stood the forge of its once celebrated smiths, and the rocks from whence the iron was dug which they fabricated into the renowned “Lamh-Ila,” or Islay blades.² In the *Sean Dana le Oisian* also

¹ Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. p. 195.

² Stuart's *Costume of the Clans*, Introd. p. li.

occurs the elaborated poetic description of the ancient bow and quiver, concluding '*S ceann o'n cheard Mac Pheidearain* ; i.e., and the head of the arrow from the smith MacPhedran. Among other relics preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries is the rude pair of iron forge-tongs figured above. They measure thirty and a half inches in length in their present imperfect state, and are described in the Minutes of the Society as having been discovered buried under the steep bank of a river in Glenorchy, thirty feet below the surface. It is further added that in the neighbourhood of the spot great quantities of charcoal were found ; and other indications showed where anciently extensive smelting work had been carried on, though no traces of it now exist in the history or traditions of the country.

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CHAPTER III.

STRONGHOLDS.

NEXT to the sepulchral monuments and the temples of remote ages, their fortifications frequently furnish the most durable and characteristic evidences of skill, and of the civilisation of the era to which they belong. In the Great Valley of the Mississippi, after Anglo-Saxon colonists have for upwards of two centuries been effecting settlements on the soil of the Red Indian, and obliterating every trace of him by their more enduring arts, the burial-mounds and military earthworks of a race older than that of the Indian remain to attest the pre-existence of civilisation on the American continent. Here, too, where for a thousand years at least, we find authentic records of ecclesiastical architects, and military engineers, fashioning rude materials into goodly fabrics, of which traces are still discernible : we also can discover the wrecks of older structures reared in those dim and remote eras, into the secrets of which we long to penetrate. "How cold is all history, how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears ! How many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare, for a few stones left one upon another ! The ambition of the old Babel-builders was well directed for this world. There are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture ; and the latter in some

sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality. It is well to have not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld all the days of their life. The age of Homer is surrounded with darkness, his very personality with doubt. Not so that of Pericles: and the day is coming when we shall confess that we have learned more of Greece out of the crumbled fragments of her sculpture, than even from her sweet singers or soldier historians."¹ The Scottish "Catherthun" is no Athenian Acropolis: and our megalithic temples, though not ineloquent memorials of their builders, must rank with the primeval cyclopean structures of Greece, and not with her Parthenon or Colonna. But the aboriginal strongholds, though mostly of a sufficiently rude and primitive character, must not be overlooked in reviewing those "conquerors of the forgetfulness of men." The construction of offensive and defensive weapons is one of the earliest evidences afforded by man, in a savage state, of that intelligence and design by which he is distinguished from the brutes. Domestic and social relationships follow, from whence spring society, ranks, laws, and all the primary elements of civilisation. Among the first indications of such progress is the union for mutual defence, and the erection of strongholds for the safety of the community and the protection of property when threatened by invading foes. Herein lie the essential rudiments of a commonwealth, when the weal of the community and that of its individual members have been recognised as the same.

A very slight review of the more simple class of British hill forts will suffice, since we fortunately possess, in many of the contemporary records already described, more precise and definite history than they can now

¹ Ruskin's *Seren Lamps of Architecture*, p. 164.

yield. It is for this reason that all notice of the aboriginal strongholds has been reserved till now, though it cannot admit of doubt that some of the simplest of them are contemporary with the pit-dwellings of the Stone Period, while others manifest such improvements as seem best to accord with the arts and weapons of the Archaic era which succeeded. Of those we have the circumscribed mote-hill or earthen mound, steeply escarped, and with the remains of its little vallum of earth surmounted originally by the stronger palisades for which the neighbouring forest supplied abundant material. Nearly akin to these are the small circular forts of earth and loose stones which still crown the summits of many Scottish hills; their lofty sites having secured them from the inroads of the agriculturist, while his aggressive ploughshare has obliterated all traces of the far more skilfully constructed Roman camp and military road which once occupied neighbouring valleys. Within the area of some of those, or scattered about their neighbourhood, flint arrows and other primitive weapons have been frequently found, accompanied occasionally by more valuable relics. On removing, in 1830, the rich black mould nearly filling the trenches of three such forts, the remains of which still crown the ridge of a rising ground above the valley of Dalrymple, Ayrshire, human skulls and bones, deers' horns, and a horn-lance or spear-head of primitive type, were discovered. Similar records of the aboriginal fort-builders must no doubt frequently be turned up in the course of agricultural operations; and where they disclose their cranial forms they furnish definite information of the race by whose laborious skill such primitive defences were constructed. As to their flint and deers'-horn lances and arrows, they can only tell us what is already obvious, that this class of strongholds, or duns, as they are locally termed, pertain to a

people whose arts were still in their infancy. Some, however, of the small hill-forts must be regarded as mere temporary native outposts in times of actual war. Of this class probably are the earthworks on the summit of Birrenswork Hill, in Annandale, where extensive entrenchments of the Roman legions occupy the level areas at its base. Similar works are also to be met with in the Western Highlands. At Knoe Scalbert, near Campbellton, Argyleshire, a fort of larger size and more complicated design covers an area of about fifty paces in diameter; but the neighbouring heights retain the traces of the smaller outpost stations, indicative, when thus found in combination, of considerable skill and warlike strategy. Such also may be presumed to be the origin of those small hill-forts, where a line of them occupy a series of adjoining heights, as may be seen on the Lamermocs, and along the southern slopes of the Kilsyth and Campsie hills, immediately to the north of the great Roman wall. These are obviously the outposts of the hardy Caledonian, from whence he watched his opportunity for some sudden foray or midnight surprise of the garrisons occupying the stations along the wall; and which he maintained with such persevering success that the Roman conquerors had at length to give way, and to fix the northern limits of empire on the older line of Hadrian, between the Solway and the Tyne.

The circular British forts or camps surmounting the heights of Galloway and the Lothians, and more or less common in nearly every district of Scotland, generally occupy an area of from three hundred to four hundred feet in diameter, and are enclosed with ramparts of earth and stone, or occasionally entirely of loose heaps of stone, which have lost through time every trace of any definite form of masonry they once possessed. But the subject has already been treated of with ample details in

Chalmers's *Caledonia*;¹ and little that is worth recording can be added to his careful researches. Roy also includes the most important native strongholds in his *Military Antiquities*, superadding to his descriptions, plans and sections, by which a very perfect idea can be formed of their original design. These include Wood Castle, a remarkable circular fort near Lochmaben, in Annandale,² which General Roy describes as a Roman post, though it differs in every possible feature from any known example of Roman castrametation. That it is a British stronghold is not now likely to be called in question. It bears, indeed, a close affinity to the circular earthworks which accompany some of the Scottish megalithic circles. Others of the supposed Roman forts bear scarcely less conclusive marks of native workmanship: as the entrenched post on Inch Stuthill, near the Tay; Liddel-Moat, near the junction of the Liddel with the Esk; Castle Over, situated on a high point of land, formed by the junction of the Black and White Esks, supposed by Roy to be the Roman Uxellum; and Burgh-Head, on the Moray Firth, which he unhesitatingly assigns as the *Ultima Pteroton* of Richard of Cirencester, and the *Alata Castra* of Ptolemy.³ All of those bear a curious general resemblance to some of the aboriginal forts of the Mississippi Valley: thus affording, under another aspect, evidence of the mind of man operating in the same way when placed in similar circumstances, and with a force not perhaps greatly differing from the unerring instincts of the lower animals. The last example, that of Burgh-Head, possibly includes some remains of Roman works. The straight wall and rounded angles, so characteristic of the legionary earthworks, are still discernible, and were probably much more obvious

¹ Vol. i. pp. 87-96.² Roy's *Military Antiquities*, Plate VIII.³ *Military Antiquities*, Plates XVIII. XXIII. XXVI. XXXIII.

when General Roy explored the fort; but its character is that of a British fort, and its site, on a promontory nearly enclosed by the sea, is opposed to the practice of the Romans in the choice of an encampment. The remarkable general correspondence of the Scottish "Deil's Dike," described in the last chapter, to the Scoto- and Anglo Roman walls, proves that the native Britons were not slow to avail themselves of the superior engineering skill of the invaders, displayed in military works of more importance than the mere rectangular vallum.¹ The fortifications here specified are not, however, to be classed with the simple circular hill-forts first noted, wherein we trace the mere rudimentary efforts of a people in the infancy of the arts. They display equal skill in the choice of site, and in the elaborate adaptation of such earth-works to the natural features of the ground. Though undoubtedly of native workmanship, many of them are not improbably strongholds and places of retreat thrown up by the native Caledonian to withstand the encroachments of the Roman invader.

But the most remarkable British fort to the north of the Tweed, if not indeed in the whole island, is that which crowns the summit of Caterthun, looking across the valley of Strathmore. Two neighbouring heights are occupied with British forts. The larger of these, called the White Caterthun, from the colour of its walls, is an elaborate, skilfully constructed stronghold, which must have formed a place of great strength when held by a hardy and well armed native garrison. It is of an oval form, enclosing an inner area of four hundred and thirty-six feet in length, by two hundred feet in breadth. But this only constitutes what may be regarded as the

¹ A still more striking proof of such acquired skill is furnished by the existence of a similar moat and rampart in the north of Ireland, of which an account is given by Dr. Stuart in his *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*.

citadel. Beyond it a succession of ramparts and ditches surround the height at lower elevations, including a much larger area, and affording scope for a numerous body of defenders. The hollow is still visible, though now nearly filled up, which was once the well of the fort; and probably this strength was maintained as a rendezvous and place of temporary retreat for the entire population of the surrounding district. The White Caterthun has been repeatedly engraved, and its construction and details will be best understood by a reference to the plans and sections in Roy's *Military Antiquities*.¹ The Brown Caterthun, which crowns another hill about a mile to the north, is also a specimen of ingenious native fortification. Its ramparts are nearly circular, and a series of concentric entrenchments extend down the slopes of the height.² Both of these native military works have been constructed with immense labour, and considerable engineering skill. The astonishing dimensions of the White Caterthun, with its ramparts composed of an accumulation of large loose stones, upwards of a hundred feet thick at the base, and fully twenty-five feet at top, and with extensive lower earthworks and ditches, excite surprise and wonder in the mind of every observer. General Roy remarks, after a careful survey of this native fortress: "The vast labour it must have cost to amass so incredible a quantity of stones, and carry them to such a height, surpasses all description."

Another remarkable hill-fort of the same class is at the Barmekyn of Echt, in Aberdeenshire; but the smaller one, at Dundalaiv, on an unusually steep and rugged height in Glenshiorn, Badenoch, is perhaps more

¹ *Military Antiquities*, Plate XLVII. It is also engraved in King's *Monumenta Antiqua*, Plates I. and II.; and in Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. Plate XVI.

² *Military Antiquities*, Plate XLVIII.

striking, from the superior masonry of its walls. These are from twelve to fourteen feet in thickness, and being built of thin flat schistose slate, the walls remain in parts fully fourteen feet high, apparently as perfect as when first erected. The enclosed area of Dundalaiv for-ress also contains a well, and considerable ingenuity has been shown in strengthening the weaker points of the position. Altogether, it is the most perfect relic of a British stronghold of the class that I know of in Scotland.

The so-called "Vitrified Forts" which have been the subject of many ingenious and baseless theories, form another interesting class of native works. Attention was first drawn to them by Mr. John Williams, in his "Account of some remarkable Ancient Ruins, lately discovered in the Highlands and nothern parts of Scotland," published in 1777. Mr. Williams had been employed by the trustees of the Scottish estates forfeited in the last Rebellion, to superintend some operations on them in his capacity of civil engineer; and while so engaged he investigated the singular remains to which he gave the name of Vitrified Forts. So entirely new was the discovery that it was generally received at first as an extravagant fiction, and no London publisher could be persuaded to undertake the publication of Mr. Williams's Account. His facts, however, proved indisputable, and theorists thereupon undertook to combat his conclusions, and to assign to the supposed forts a volcanic origin. The appearance of some of the most remarkable of these works is well calculated to sustain such a theory. The fortified area on the Top-o-Noth, near the village of Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, for example, — one of the most remarkable specimens of a vitrified fort in Scotland, — could not be more accurately described than by comparing it to the crater of an extinct volcano. Since the first announcement of Mr. Williams's dis-

covery there has been no lack of observation or controversy on the subject, though not always with very satisfactory results. Soon after the publication of his account, their origin and characteristics were discussed in a paper on "Ancient Monuments and Fortifications in the Highlands of Scotland," printed in the *Archæologia*;¹ the chief interest of which arises from the description of Knoekferrel, occupying the entire summit of a detached height in Ross-shire, and bearing a curious resemblance in some of its arrangements to the American Hill Forts of the Mound-Builders of the Mississippi Valley. In 1825 the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland directed special attention to the general subject, and published in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*, the results of a series of careful investigations made chiefly under the direction of the late Dr. Samuel Hibbert, one of the secretaries of the Society, and further qualified for the duty as an experienced practical geologist. The fruit of these investigations may be thus stated:—Dr. Hibbert arrives at the conclusion that the vitrification is an incidental and not a designed effect: having formed no part of the process of erection of the forts or cairns on which it is now traceable, but resulting accidentally from the frequent kindling of beacon-fires as the signals of war or invasion, as well as from bonfires which formed a part of festive or religious rejoicings; and indeed from numerous independent causes, probably no less widely dissimilar in dates than in origination. The nature of the sites, also, where vitrification has been detected, proves that it is by no means confined to fortified positions; nor when it does occur on such is it generally found diffused throughout the ramparts of stone, or even restricted to their limits. Dr. Hibbert accordingly rejects the name of *vitrified fort* for the more comprehensive

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 255; vol. vi. pp. 87, 109; vol. x. p. 147.

and untheoretical one of *vitrified site*, as most descriptive of remains which appear to include small enclosures for the protection of beacon-fires; sites of bonfires periodically lighted at ancient places of rendezvous for tribes or clans; and hearths of fort-beacons and signal-fires, occasionally occupying not the ramparts but the ditch.

The only argument which tends to throw any doubt on the result of Dr. Hibbert's conclusions is that of Dr. Macculloch,—a shrewd observer, little inclined to extend toleration to any antiquarian hobbies but his own,—who affirms that in situations where the most accessible materials for constructing a stone fort are such as are incapable of being vitrified, suitable materials have been selected and brought with considerable labour from a distance.¹ But the evidence of design in the choice of such materials is by no means apparent. The examples referred to by Dr. Macculloch only confirm the fact, already familiar to the chemist and geologist, that there are very few districts in Scotland where rocks do not occur capable of being more or less vitrified. This subject is fully illustrated by an interesting series of experiments carried on by Sir James Hall, towards the close of last century, with a view to test some of the geological theories in reference to the igneous formation of rocks, which then furnished a fertile theme of con-

¹ "I remarked that at Dun Mac Sniochain the materials of the hill itself were not vitrifiable, but that a very fusible rock was present at a short distance, or scattered in fragments about the plain. The same is true here (Dunadeer); and in both cases the forts are not erected out of the materials nearest at hand, which are infusible, but collected with considerable labour from a distance. It is hence evident that the builders of these works were aware of the qualities of these various rocks; and it is equally evident that they chose the fusible in preference to the infusible, although with a considerable increase of labour. The obvious conclusion is, that they designed from the beginning to vitrify their walls."—*Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 292.

troversy between the disciples of Werner and Hutton.¹ All the varieties of trap are so susceptible of fusion, that they have been recently selected as the most efficient and economical flux in the smelting of copper ores. I am indebted to Dr. Francis Hay Thomson, the inventor and patentee of the ingenious application of the common recks to this purpose, for communicating to me the results of his experiments. His invention chiefly consists in "the application of what are commonly called whinstones, and of other stones similar to whinstone; such as trap, basalt, sienite, and the like, being fusible silicates, as a flux in the smelting of copper ores." He has found all these materials capable of easy and complete fusion in a reverberatory furnace; but a much more moderate degree of heat would suffice to produce the conglomerated masses usually found on vitrified sites, where the larger stones are merely enclosed and cemented together by the fused matter. In reply to inquiries as to the probable effect of bale-fires kept blazing repeatedly on the same ramparts or heaps of stones, where a gradual accumulation of ashes from the burning pile must fill up the intervening spaces, and supply a flux capable of combining for the ultimate fusion of the whole, Dr. Thomson remarks:—"Granite is *per se* very infusible; that of Aberdeen almost entirely so, in consequence of the presence of an overplus of silica. Sandstone is *per se* quite infusible, being almost entirely silica. Your supposition may, however, be correct, for the addition of the alkali produced from the wood-ashes would much assist the fusion of all kinds of stone that might be used in building these forts. Whinstone contains at least four per cent. of pure soda, fifteen

¹ Experiments on Whinstone and Lava, by Sir J. Hall, Bart. *Trans. Royal Soc. Edin.* vol. v. p. 45; Series of Experiments on the Action of Heat, vol. vi. p. 71.

of iron, and from twelve to twenty of lime. All these form a most fusible mixture, and the silica present is only in such proportion as is necessary for vitrification. Limestone is of itself not fusible except at a very high temperature ; but the addition of either iron or soda with silica renders it at once vitreous. Although I am not certain as to the exact degrees of heat requisite for the fusion of these materials, I may mention that, in an ordinary reverberatory furnace, I have fused five cwt. of whinstone in one hour and a half, the product being a dark mass similar to bottle-glass ; and I have no doubt, were proper precautions taken, that large slabs might easily be moulded for building purposes."

The degree of heat attainable in a reverberatory furnace manifestly greatly exceeds any temperature that could be produced by an exposed fire of wood ; but the usual appearance of vitrified masses found on the sites of forts or beacon-hills is such as proves them to be the product of a more moderate heat. The larger pieces are not fused into a homogeneous mass, but blocks of trap, granite, and sandstone, or occasionally all three in juxtaposition, are enveloped in a vitrified coating of irregular thickness, and bound into a solid piece by this extraneous substance. The alkali supplied by wood-ashes is sufficient to produce such a result. Carbonate of potash in contact with trap will readily melt at a red heat, and has a power of uniting with the constituents of the trap to form a fusible compound which hardens into glass in cooling. Fire-clay, which is altogether infusible, and less liable to be affected by heat than most of the known natural rocks, is employed on this account in making the chemists' crucibles ; but if an alkali is melted in a fire-clay crucible, it forms a vitreous covering on the surface, and where large quantities are used even goes through the crucible. This is a fact familiar to the chemist ; and

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so impossible is it to keep fused alkalis in contact with silicates, that only crucibles of platina or silver can be used for the analysis of siliceous minerals. In this way even sandstone, though *per se* infusible, is perfectly capable of vitrification, and indeed is, under certain circumstances, peculiarly susceptible of it, as its great porosity admits of the ready absorption of the melted alkali.

This susceptibility of the degree of fusion usually observable on vitrified sites, which trap and others of the common rocks of Scotland possess, has long been recognised by chemists ; and when it is taken into consideration along with the very diversified circumstances under which vitrification has been observed, the conclusion seems inevitable, that it is an incidental and not a designed result of the application of fire. But neither the interest nor the importance of this inquiry is exhausted when we have established the undesigned origin of vitrified sites. The question still remains : Are they peculiar to Scotland ? because, even if we reject the idea that cementing stone buildings by means of fire is among the *artes perditæ Scotiæ*, still the discovery of so many vitrified sites in nearly every district of Scotland, would seem to indicate the practice of peculiar customs and observances during those early centuries in which the primeval forests furnished an unlimited supply of fuel. It is at all times a precarious and unsatisfactory basis of argument which depends chiefly on the absence of contrary evidence. Nevertheless it is worthy of notice, that although upwards of seventy years have elapsed since Mr. Williams published his account of vitrified forts, no example, so far as I am aware, has been discovered south of the Tweed.¹

¹ I know of only one European example yet noted out of Scotland, but it is a very remarkable one, and has been thought to confirm the idea of designed vitrification. (*Vide* Account of the *Pierrres Brûlées*, or Camp of Peran,

This cannot be ascribed to the subject being one of mere local or temporary interest. It has not only excited much controversy among English antiquaries, but has attracted the attention of students of various kindred sciences; and, while the geological features of some districts preclude the possible existence of such structures: it suggests their origin in customs peculiar to the early Caledonians, if the fact be established, that neither in the Welsh Highlands nor in the lake districts of England, are any traces of vitrified forts or sites visible. It has been the fashion of late years to slight the whole question as one that has already commanded undue notice. Such, however, is a more convenient than satisfactory mode of dealing with this inquiry. Dr. Hibbert appended to his *Observations on Vitrified Forts*, a list of forty-four sites already noted in twelve Scottish counties, including the most northern and the most southern districts. To those others have since been added, extending the area of vitrified sites to the Orkney Islands on the north, and to the vicinity of Jedburgh, near the English border. It will suffice, meanwhile, to note these facts, in the hope that English archæologists may, on fitting occasion, seek a reply to the inquiries which they involve:—Were the southern Britons, or the later Saxons or Scandinavians, wont to kindle bayle or beacon-fires on cairns, forts, or elevated sites, with such frequency as to leave similar traces to those which are so common in Scotland? Or must we infer that these abundant remains are the result of ancient rites and customs peculiar to races of the northern kingdom?

a French primitive fort in the Commune of Clédran; *Jour. of Archæol. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 278.) The researches of Mr. Squier and Dr. Davis among the ancient monuments of the Mississippi Valley, reveal various examples of partial vitrification, tending to confirm the more consistent idea of accidental and varying origin.—*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. i. pp. 12, 17, 28, 36.

To attempt to assign a date for the primitive forts or vitrified sites would be manifest folly, but even to appportion them to one or more of less definite periods is difficult. Some of them doubtless pertain to the earliest era of combined action, of which they would form one of the first results, while others may belong to a comparatively recent period ; and, in particular, such border sites as those of Cowdenknowes and Howden Moor¹ perchance date no farther back than those eventful times of watch and ward on the Scottish borders, quaintly referred to in the Act of James the Second's Parliament, in 1455, "for bailes making" to warn of the approach of the Southron foe : "Ane baile is warning of their cumming, quhat power that ever they bie of ; twa bailes togidder at anis, they are cumming indeed ; four bailes, ilk ane beside uther, and all at anis as foure candelles, suithfast knowlege that they ar of great power and meanis far."

Considerable interest has been excited during recent years in another class of ancient strongholds, which appear to have been common at some remote period in many lake districts of Europe. These are the artificial or stockaded islands, denominated *Crannoges* by the Irish annalists, and more recently described with minute care by the archæologists of Switzerland under the name of *Keltischen Pfahlbauten*. The Crannoge of Lagore, in the county of Meath, is referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the date A.D. 848 ; and in Ireland, as also no doubt in Scotland, they continued in use to a comparatively recent period. The traces of similar artificial islands, or of islets and shallows extended and fortified by oaken piles, sometimes strengthened with stone, have been found in various Scottish lakes, as in the Loch of Leyes, Kincardineshire ; Lochmaben,

¹ *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 297.

Dumfriesshire ; Loch Doon, Ayrshire ; Loch Winnoch, Renfrewshire ; Carlinwark Loch, Kirkeudbright ; the Dhu Loch, and Loch Quien, Bute ; in the Loch of Forfar, and several of the numerous small lakes of Nairn and Galloway ; and apparently also in Duddingston Loch, Mid-Lothian. The remains of these extensive oaken pilings and stockades point to a time when the country was covered with the native forest ; and among the accumulated rubbish embedded above their buried foundations are found the bones of many extinct animals which haunted the ancient forests of the Crannoge era. Personal ornaments, culinary and other implements, and weapons of bone, stone, bronze, and iron, have all been recovered from the submerged ruins of those insular strongholds ; and as opportunities occur for more detailed study of such traces of the arts and habits of their builders, a clear idea will be formed of the periods to which they must be assigned, and of the probable date of their final abandonment. One of the most interesting discoveries of the remains of a Scottish Crannoge was made so early as 1781. Dr. John Ogilvie, in a letter addressed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in that year, after describing an island in the Loch of Forfar about one hundred paces in diameter, and almost circular, thus proceeds : "Since Lord Strathmore has drained off about half of this lake, the entrance from the north side is free of water, and every person has access. The water leaving the island, it was discovered to be built upon great quantities of stone raised up upon oak trees sunk down, and surrounded by some with sharp points uppermost. Part of the whinstone removed seem to have been bedded with heather—some of it remarkably fresh, other parts of it petrified." Dr. Ogilvie then proceeds to describe the objects brought to light, which included silver ornaments like ear-rings ;

about thirty or forty pieces of horn, which he conceives to have been counters for some game; several very large tusks of boars or wolves, and deers' horns of an extraordinary size.¹ Of those the only objects known to have been preserved are the counters, specimens of which were fortunately forwarded along with the above description, and are now preserved in the Scottish Museum. Some of them were plain circular disks of bone, while others were carved with minute delicacy in open interlaced knot work. From one of the latter the accompanying illustration is engraved the size of the original, and shows a style of art very much in accordance with that of the earliest decorative work of the Christian



FIG. 118.—Table-man, Loch of Forfar.

period. The objects thus recovered from the ruined Crannoge of the Loch of Forfar are no doubt table-men, used in one of the games of skill which appear to have been so much in favour among all the northern nations towards the close of the Pagan era.

Another class of structures peculiar to Scotland, and generally known as Burghs or Pictish towers, has been ascribed, like so many other native antiquities, to a Danish origin; but recent communications between Scandinavian and British archaeologists, establish the fact that no such structures are known in the old lands of the Northmen. The Scottish Burghs are large cir-

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1780-81.

cular fortresses, or bell-shaped structures, built of unhewn stone, and entirely without cement. The most perfect example of these remarkable edifices is situated upon the island of Mousa, near the mainland of Zetland; but many remains of them can still be traced, both on the northern and western isles, in Caithness and Sutherland, and on various parts of the north and west coasts of Scotland.¹ They are nearly all formed precisely on the same plan, though differing considerably in size. The form is a truncated cone, occasionally slightly varied, as in that of Mousa, where the wall curves inward till it attains a certain height, and then returns outward again, probably with the same design as the corbelled battlements of a later date, which enabled the defenders more effectually to annoy any assailant who ventured to approach the base. With this exception the exterior displays neither ornamental projections, nor any provision for defensive operations, by means of window, loop-hole, or machicolation. The rude but very substantial masonry of the exterior is only broken by a plain narrow doorway, which, from the absence of gate-posts, grooves, or any of the ordinary refinements of more modern architecture, it is not improbable was secured, when danger was imminent, by building it up with a pile of stones. Within the exterior cone a second cylindrical structure is reared, the walls of which are either perpendicular, or constructed at an angle which, leaving a space between the two of about six feet at the base, brings them together at the top. Within this space between the walls a rude staircase, or rather inclined passage, communicates round the whole, with a series of chambers or tiers of interspaces, formed by means of long stones laid across from wall to wall, so as to form flooring and ceiling.

¹ Vide Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 391; *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 216; *Itiner. Septent.* p. 166; Macculloch, *Highlands and Western Islands*, vol. ii. p. 250.

These are lighted by square apertures looking into the interior area. This central space is open to the sky, and the fact of the only light to the chambers and passages within being derived by means of apertures opening into it, seems to preclude the idea of its ever having been roofed. It is not apparent, however, by what means the occupants could obtain access to the ramparts, so as to resist an assault, and prevent the walls from being scaled or undermined, though a sufficiently rude and simple wooden structure may have supplied this obvious defect.

One necessary consequence of the plan on which all those buildings are constructed is, that while the lower galleries are roomy, and admit of free passage, the space narrows so rapidly that the upper ones are too straitened even to admit a child. This is particularly observable in the Burgh of Mousa, which, though more perfect, is considerably smaller than that of Dun Dornadil, in Glenelg, one of the largest of this singular class of structures, minutely described both by Cordiner and Pennant. A much greater proportion of the internal galleries of Mousa must have been totally unavailable, either for occupation or the storing of property. No great difficulty, however, need be made about this, even where windows are found made in the inner wall, equally for the wide and the most straitened tiers of galleries. One model, and that a very simple one, supplied the design for all; and it would not be difficult to find examples in modern masonry of a similar unreasoning fidelity to original models, as in the latest structures of the Tudor style, where unperforated gargouls project from solid walls, and flying buttresses are thrown where there is nothing to support.

The most remarkable deviation from the common arrangement of those singular structures is where, as in the Burgh of Achir-na-Kyle, built on the summit of a

precipitous rock overhanging the river Brora, in Sutherlandshire, regular conical chambers are constructed in the solid wall. This refinement upon the original design may be regarded as the first progressive step in the art of military architecture. Cordiner remarks of this example, after noting its general correspondence to those in Glenelg: "I must except the apartments within the walls, which are of an oval form, distinct and entire, about eight feet long, six high, and four wide. Those on the ground-floor are still a retreat from the storm for the goats that feed on the neighbouring hills. The stairs from the first to the second row of chambers are regular and commodiously made out. The apartments are carefully lighted by windows from within, a strong evidence that the area within these towers had never been closed above, or entirely covered. The door looks over the precipice towards the river, and is full six feet high. One chamber had several plans of a level entry to it, and measured nine feet in height; this had been probably intended for the chieftain. The whole structure seems to me so well contrived that it is not easy to conceive a people who could not work in wood or iron could have been more conveniently accommodated in places of defence."¹

Considerable skill and ingenuity are shown, both in the choice of a site for those defences, and in turning it to the best account. They most frequently occupy capes, headlands, or small islands, either in a lake or on the open sea. Sir Walter Scott describes a curious device which he observed employed for guarding one of those in Shetland against the approach of strangers. "I remember," he remarks, "the remains of one upon an island in a small lake near Lerwick, which at high tide communicates with the sea, the access to which is very

¹ Cordiner's *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*.

ingenious, by means of a causeway or dyke, about three or four inches under the surface of the water. This causeway makes a sharp angle in its approach to the Burgh. The inhabitants, doubtless, were well acquainted with this, but strangers, who might approach in a hostile manner, and were ignorant of the curve of the causeway, would probably plunge into the lake, which is six or seven feet deep at the least. This must have been the device of some Vauban or Cohorn of those early times."

These remarkable buildings can hardly be viewed with too great interest by the Scottish archæologist. They are among the earliest native remains of regular constructive architecture which we possess; the cromlechs and stone circles being at best only rudimentary and symbolic or representative forms of architecture. The first point accordingly is to ascertain, with such accuracy and minuteness as may now be possible, the precise nature of the facts regarding them. Careful investigations have been carried on of late years, accompanied in several instances with excavations around the buildings and within the enclosed space, the results of which are worthy of note. In more than one instance human remains have been found on removing the accumulated rubbish and debris from these ancient ruins, suggesting the possibility of their correspondence to the *Nuraghes* of Sardinia, which they somewhat resemble in outward form. It is altogether inconceivable, however, to ascribe a sepulchral origin to these chambered towers; while the same excavations which have revealed the remains of the dead have also in most cases furnished no less conclusive evidence of the more frequent presence of the living. Dr. Macculloch mentions the discovery of human bones in the Burgh of Glenelg, but without entering into details; but the results of a careful examination of another of these towers, near Dunrobin, in the summer

of 1849, elicited more definite information. On removing the rubbish from the chambers and galleries, a human skeleton was found in one of them, while excavations within the open area disclosed abundant traces of a fire in the centre, and also brought to light several stone querns or hand-mills. The skeleton here appeared to belong to a later period than the querns and the central fire; but no accompanying relics of the deceased were found to tell how long the fire of the old garrison had been extinguished ere the chamber of their fort was made a receptacle for the dead. More satisfactory results attended the examination of the Burgh of Burghar in Orkney. It is described by Mr. A. Peterkin, in a letter addressed to Dr. Hibbert in 1825, as the most perfect



FIG. 119. — Burghar Bone Comb.

though not the largest of several in the neighbourhood. Several barrows occur in the vicinity, some of which have been opened and found to contain urns. The central floor of the Burgh was nearly filled up with the accumulated ruins and rubbish of centuries, and resisted more than one effort to explore it; but the son of the clergyman of the parish renewed the attempt in the spring of 1825, and succeeded in partially investigating the contents of the ruined heap. On digging out the earth and rubbish, he found a human skeleton, beside which lay part of a deer's horn, and the rude bone comb represented here, about one-third the size of the original, which is now deposited in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. Mr. Peterkin appears also to have for-

warded the skull to Dr. Hibbert, but it has not been preserved. Other specimens of this primitive type of bone comb have been found under similar circumstances. One of still ruder construction, dug up in 1782, in the ruins of a burgh in Caithness, another Orkney example formerly in the Museum at Kirkwall, and other equally primitive bone combs, are in the Scottish collection.

More extensive excavations were made within the Burgh of Burghar at a subsequent period, and led to the discovery of some valuable relics, including two fine gold armillæ, now in the possession of the Earl of Zetland. In this instance also there can be little hesitation in assuming that the deposition of the dead body did not take place till the abandonment of the burgh, perhaps not till it had been long in ruins: as it does not appear from the description to have been below the level of the original floor, but within the accumulated soil which encumbered the area. This, however, is open to doubt, as the letter is not quite explicit. But if the interment was at some depth below the floor, it might have taken place while the burgh was occupied, and an assailing force precluded access to the neighbouring downs on which the aboriginal sepulchral tumuli are still visible. It may even be doubted whether the gold relics were placed there as a sepulchral deposit, or only for security or concealment. They belong possibly to a later age than that of the first interment with its simple and rude accompaniment of the bone comb. The latter object indeed bears a close resemblance to corresponding implements now in use by the Esquimaux, and shows, as we might expect, that the burghs are the work of a people whose arts were extremely rude, and were probably erected at a period long prior to the earliest recorded traces of Scandinavian invasion.

Mr. W. H. Fotheringham of Kirkwall, Orkney, has

communicated to me an account of the exploration of another ruin of a circular fort. It occupies an isolated promontory, called the How of Hoxay, in South Ronaldshay, immediately opposite to the Bay of Scupa. Rising abruptly from the small Bay of Hoxay is the How, or Height, on the top of which are the remains of a circular building. Until brought to light in the course of recent excavations it was entirely buried beneath the accumulated soil, and presented only the appearance of an earthen tumulus. It has now been completely exposed externally, and the enclosure excavated to the surface of the rock, so that the work of exploration has been



FIG. 130.—How of Hoxay.

very effectually performed. The external wall measures fourteen feet in thickness, and about eight feet in greatest height, and encloses an area of about thirty feet in diameter. The construction of the wall is singular, the exterior and interior facings appearing to have been carefully built with unhewn stones fitted together with great nicety, and the intervening space filled up with stones thrown in with little care or design. No cement had been used, but the wall is still strong and without any displacement in the facings, though so much ruined that no certain idea can now be formed of its original height. The great quantity of stones which lay both

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within and about it serve, however, to show that only a small portion of the original fabric remains. The accompanying view of the most perfect side of the interior will convey a better idea of the general appearance and details than any description could do. The two upright stones about half way up the wall on the left of the drawing appear to be the side-posts either of a door or cutlook, to which the projecting step below was probably designed to give access ; but it was found built up like the other parts of the walls, and the proprietor having since, in a misdirected zeal for the preservation of the ruin, had the whole pointed with lime, it is no longer possible to detect the additions of later builders. Round the inner circumference of the wall upright flag-

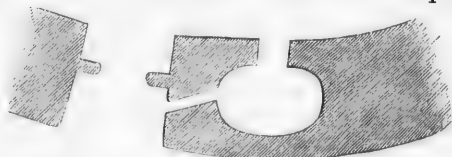


FIG. 121.—Hovay Doorway.

stones project at intervals of six feet apart. Only six of these now remain, but the fragments of others were discovered among the debris. In the recesses formed by them lay several quernes, a shallow stone mortar and pestle, or corn-crusher, of the rudest and most primitive construction, and also two smaller circular stone vessels, the one seven and the other five inches in diameter, and both about four and a half inches deep. The remains of the doorway in the eastern and most ruined part of the wall appear to have been of an unusually intricate construction, but these also have unfortunately been obliterated by later repairs, the whole wall having been raised to a uniform height, and a platform and flagstaff superadded, in questionable taste. The proprietor was actuated in his labours by a sincere desire for the pre-

servation of this venerable ruin, and antiquaries must respect his motives, though he has not effected it exactly in the way they would have wished. I am favoured by Mr. Fotheringham with the following description and sketch:—"As to the door on the east side, the information I have got is that it was contracted by means of slates thus (Fig. 121); and that at the side of the door was a chamber in the thickness of the wall leading from the interior, from which there was an aperture or slit to the widest part of the doorway, either for the purpose of outlook, or for projecting a weapon against a hostile intruder." This arrangement more nearly approaches the plans for outlook and defence with which we are familiar in medieval military architecture. It is greatly to be regretted that no opportunity was afforded for more minute observation.

The result of these investigations is highly satisfactory and encouraging, giving promise of further information from the labours of future explorers. Meanwhile, some important conclusions may be arrived at. It is not necessary that we should follow Cordiner in his learned arguments concerning King Dornadil, a successor of Fergus I., who ascended the throne A.D. 263, and signalized his reign by erecting the Burgh of Dun Dornadil on the north-west coast of Inverness-shire. With precise dates the archaeologist can rarely have aught to do while treating of primitive antiquities; but this at least seems established, that they are native erections, and belong for the most part to a period long prior to the era of Scandinavian invasion. Where the Saxon and Scandinavian races ultimately prevailed, they bear the name of Burghs; where the older Celtic race and language survive, they retain the name of Duns: and Sir Walter Scott has pointed out, in an ingenious note appended to *Ivanhoe*, that the venerable Saxon strong-

hold of Conigsburgh is only a refinement on the older model of the Scottish burghs. This has been illustrated by drawings and sections in the Abbotsford edition of the novels, and the resemblance is certainly sufficient to carry much probability with it, though at the same time the complicated arrangements, and the provisions for aggressive operations against assailants in the burgh of the southern Saxon, cannot but add to the conviction that the Scottish strongholds of this class belong to an earlier period. They are manifestly the work of an ingenious and patient race, who aimed far more at defence than aggression. Strongholds they undoubtedly are, but they retain no trace of features strictly adapting them to military posts. The Saxon burghs of England were rapidly superseded by the more efficient keep of their Norman conquerors; yet when we institute a comparison between Conigsburgh and Mousa or Dun Dornadil, it seems to present a contrast not unlike that which distinguishes the defensive operations of the wild-cat and the hedgehog: a contrast which either marks a very great change on the character of the hardy tribes that withstood the Roman legions, or indicates a striking difference between the races which occupied the northern and southern regions of Caledonia.

Dr. Macculloch remarks of these Scottish burghs,—
 “From the expensive nature of their construction, or the
 paucity of hands that must have been employed on them,
 it is to be supposed that they were the palaces or
 castles of the chiefs or kings of the days in which they
 were erected. But it seems an insuperable objection to
 this notion, that four should have existed within so small
 a distance from each other in Glenelg, or that so many
 should be found in Sutherland and in Shetland not far
 asunder. The limits of territory that surround any one
 are too narrow for any chief; and where all chiefs were

in a state of general and constant hostility, it is not likely that they should have chosen to build so near to each other. It is equally impossible that they should have been the dwellings of the inhabitants in general, as the expense of erection bears no proportion to the limited accommodation they could afford." This expense of erection, however, is, in other words, labour: time being of small value in a primitive state of society; and when their number is taken into consideration along with their limited accommodation, it is difficult to evade the conclusion that they were the temporary places of shelter of a people liable to sudden inroads from powerful foes, like the palisaded log-house or fort which the first settlers in the backwood frontiers of America were wont to erect as a place of retreat on any sudden attack of the treacherous aborigines. The only period we know of within the era of authentic Scottish history to which this description applies is that of the marauding expeditions of the Norsemen prior to the conquest of the Orkneys by Harold Harfager. Before this the rude Norse Vikings were wont to make sudden descents on the islands; as well as along the whole Scottish coast, spoiling and slaying with remorseless cruelty. At such a period, therefore, we can readily conceive of the natives of a district combining to build a burgh, whither they could retreat as soon as the fleet of the Norsemen was espied in the offing; and driving thither their cattle, and carrying with them all their most valuable moveables, they could lie secure till the spoilers set sail again in quest of some less watchful prey. Experience would teach the necessary improvements requisite for rendering these structures effectual against such foes; while the improbability of the Northmen abandoning their ships and attempting a regular siege of one of their burghs, may account for the absence of the very distinct provisions for offensive operations

against assailants which are so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon burgh.

The Burgh of Mousa, which is still the most perfect of those ancient strongholds, is the only one of which we have any distinct historical notice. Torfæus tells us that Erland, the son of Harold the Fair-spoken, carried off the mother of Harold, a Norwegian jarl, who was famed for her beauty, and took shelter with his prize in the Castle of Mousa. Earl Harold followed, and laid siege to the place, endeavouring first to take it by assault, and afterwards to reduce it by famine. But both means proved equally ineffectual, and the wrathful Jarl was forced at length to agree to terms by which his mother became the wife of her ravisher. This burgh is not only the most perfect, but also the best adapted for defence of any that now exist; and it is not improbable that it owes its projecting parapet, as well as the more effective repair which has secured its preservation, to its later Norwegian occupants.

Still it does not necessarily follow from the correspondence of the state of society in the north of Scotland in the ninth century, as a weak people, liable to sudden inroads by powerful and merciless invaders, with the apparent indications of these strongholds, that we must therefore assign the origin of all of them to that period. The conquest of the Orkneys, and the occupation of the northern districts of Scotland by the Northmen in the ninth century, mark the close of a period which is still involved in almost total darkness. How long before this the natives had learned to watch the horizon for the dreaded fleets of the Northmen, or in what form the earliest migration of the Cruithne to the north took place, we have yet to learn; but the very fact of the frequent descents of the former on our coasts must be viewed as affording some evidence that the arts of civili-

sation had advanced beyond the rude state indicated by such primitive relics as those which were discovered in the How of Hoxay.

A similar state of society is illustrated by a very different class of defensive earthworks observable in various districts both of the Highlands and low country, remote from the coast. These consist of artificial trenches, generally dug in the side of a hill, and obviously designed for the hasty concealment of cattle from predatory bands of marauders, though in some cases tradition associates them with remarkable events of comparatively recent date. One, for example, of considerable extent, situated between Kintore and Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, is popularly known as *Bruce's Howe*, from an old tradition that it afforded the means of concealment to a party of Robert the Bruce's army before the battle of Inverury. Its depth, like that of most others, is about eight feet, affording effective shelter and concealment both to men and horses. Another of these trenches has been cut out of the side of a hill, near its summit, on the farm of Altyre, parish of Dalry, Kirkeudbrightshire. It is capable of containing about a hundred men, while a person concealed in it can see to a considerable distance, in the two principal directions of approach, without being observed. From the convenient retreat it afforded to the persecuted Covenanters in the time of Charles II., it still bears the name of the *Whig Hole*. A larger trench of the same kind exists along the side of a steep hill forming one of the range of Scur-na-fion in Glencoe. This has been constructed with considerable skill, the trench running parallel with the range of hills, and opening at its west end in a gully formed by a small mountain stream, which joins the river Coe somewhat farther down. From a distance, or from any lower part of the Glen, the trench is quite indistinguishable, as the

embankment, which in this case has been formed on the side of the hill, is sloped so as completely to coincide with the angle at which the latter rises from the valley. An intelligent correspondent, familiar with this part of the Highlands, informs me that he had frequently visited the Glen without being aware of the existence of the trench, though passing it at no great distance, and his attention was first called to it by observing the fresh colour of the herbage on the upper edge of the embankment, in contrast with the more olive hue of the hillside beyond: a phenomenon easily accounted for by the fall of the heavier and coarser debris of the embankment towards its base, thus leaving a finer soil along the ridge. Angus McDonald, an old and intelligent native of the Glen, at once assigned its origin to troublous times, for the purpose of sheltering the natives and cattle of the Glen when surprised by an invading foe, and stated that it includes ample space for concealing three hundred head of cattle. Examples of such trenches occur in other parts of the Highlands, belonging to no definite period, but indicating the resources of a pastoral people, liable to sudden invasion by powerful warlike foes.

Without attempting to deduce from such evidence as is now attainable, more than it seems fairly to warrant, it is obvious that we have followed down the unwritten history of our island from that remote and imperfectly defined era in which we catch the first glimpses of its occupation by wanderers from the eastern home of our common race, to the period when definite history begins, and written records supply to some extent the information heretofore painfully sought amid the relics of older times. There still remains, however, some few more pages of these archæological annals to be deciphered, before we attempt to sift the perplexing mixture of truth and fable which makes up our earlier written history.

CHAPTER IV.

WEAPONS, IMPLEMENTS, AND POTTERY.

THE state of isolation, with all its attendant influences, must now be considered finally at a close. The effects of European civilisation rapidly modified the primitive native arts ; and during this era, to which the name of Iron Period is applied, that mingling of races was chiefly effected which has resulted in our singular British nationality, in our peculiar virtues and our equally peculiar deficiencies. Roman influence also failed not, even while indirectly operating, greatly to accelerate the development of the new era. Whatever effect the long occupation of England as a Roman province had on native mythology and sepulchral rites, any change produced on those of Scotland must have been limited and partial. Relics of the Roman period have been found in tumuli and cairns alongside of the rude British cinerary urn, the bronze spear, and even the stone celt ; nor was it till Christian rites were introduced that the circumscribed cist was entirely abandoned. Sepulchral pottery is found along with relics of all periods, from the rudest primeval era to that of the introduction of Christianity ; but even where it is accompanied with Roman relics, it betrays no indications of familiarity with the artistic design or manufacturing processes of the Roman potter. The transition is at once from the primitive pottery apparently to that of the Anglo Saxon era. On warlike implements,

however, it is probable that the collision with the Roman legions exercised an important influence; but the state of decomposition in which iron relics are usually found renders it difficult to determine its precise character or extent. A few Scottish examples, however, have been noted from time to time, and supply the means of forming some conclusions relative to the arts of this period.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miller in his "Inquiry respecting the Site of the Battle of Mons Grampius," thus describes some of the antiquities of the locality, which he conceives to be relics of native art contemporary with the Roman invasion of the second century:—"At a point near Gateside a vast cairn stood until about forty-two years ago, and there the last stand of the Caledonians in a body seems to have been made. Upon removing this cairn many bones were found, and great quantities of iron. Many of the pieces were very small, so as to be called knives and forks by the workmen. Others again were very large; too much so, one might almost suppose, from the account I have had of them, even for the *enormes gladios* of the Caledonians. None of them have unfortunately been preserved, as they were probably completely oxidized, and reckoned of no value. Great numbers of beads were also found in the cairn, and distributed about the country at the time as curiosities. A few of these are still preserved, and serve to convey rather a favourable idea of the state of the arts at the time. Some of them were of a long elliptical form, and made of jet; others were made of a bluish glass, and shaded with spiral or circular lines; while others were white, enamelled with red and blue spots, the colours of which are as vivid as ever."¹ The same writer describes numerous stone and bronze relics found under a variety of circumstances throughout that district of Fifeshire.

¹ *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 43.

Many of these, however, must have belonged to very different periods, and probably also to different races that succeeded each other in the occupation of the fertile region of country lying between the estuaries of the Forth and Tay; though all are pressed by him into the service, in order to add to the accumulated evidence by which he seeks to assign a precise site to the famed battle-field of Agricola and Galgacus. On the 22d November 1849, some farm-servants engaged in draining a field at East Langton, in the parish of Kirknewton, Mid-Lothian, found a skeleton about three and a half feet below the surface. The body lay south-west by north-east, imbedded in moss about three inches thick. Near the feet were found an iron knife, and a dagger



FIG. 192.—Iron Dagger and Pin, East Langton.

with a wooden handle and a square gold plate and knob on the end of the haft, but both were greatly corroded and adhering together from the rust. The same grave also contained a wooden comb, broken and very much decayed, and a rude bodkin of bone measuring three and a quarter inches long, which had doubtless been employed in fastening the dress of the deceased. The knife is perforated with three holes, by which a handle must have been attached to it, but it is too much corroded to afford any correct idea of its original form. Near to these lay a wooden vessel and an earthen urn coated with green glaze, and rudely ornamented with a waved pattern; both of which were broken by the carelessness of the workmen. The accompanying woodcut represents the dagger and bone pin, the former of which

measures, with the handle, thirteen and a quarter inches long.

The glazed pottery accompanying the iron weapons at East Langton is a characteristic feature of the sepulchral deposits of the last Pagan period in Scotland, and is perhaps one of the earliest indications of Anglo-Saxon influence. During the progress of the railway works for constructing a branch line of the North British Railway to North Berwick, in 1848, two stone cists were discovered on the Abbey Farm, measuring a little more than four feet in length, and each containing a human skeleton. In one of them an iron sword and dagger lay together, but so much corroded as to crumble to pieces

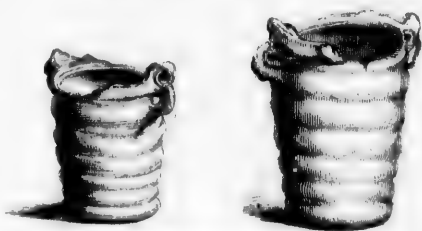


FIG. 123.—Glazed Urns.

in the careless hands of the railway navvies. At the side of the skeletons, in both cists, were urns of rough grey ware, ornamented externally with parallel grooves running round them, and, internally, covered with a green glaze. The woodcut represents one of these, rescued in a partially dilapidated state from the railway excavators, and now in the possession of Andrew Richardson, Esq. It measures fully six inches in height, and, as will be seen from the accompanying illustration, bears a singularly close resemblance to another urn of smaller dimensions, also represented here, found in Aberdeenshire, under the following circumstances:—The Old Statistical Account of the parish of Rathen contains a

description of three cairns at Memsie, on the eastern coast of Aberdeenshire, which, it is remarked, "were very large, till of late, that great quantities of the stones have been taken away from two of them. The remains of human bones were lately found in one of them." The renewed invasion of one of these cairns about the year 1824 led to the discovery of the smaller urn. It measures four and a quarter inches in height, three inches in diameter at the bottom, and four at the top. Externally it is rough and destitute of any ornament, except the six parallel grooves which appear in the woodcut. Within it is entirely coated with a dark green glaze. Unfortunately, however, one of its most remarkable features no longer exists. Mr. John Gordon of Cairnbulg remarks in a letter with which he accompanied the donation of the urn to the Society of Antiquaries in 1827: "The urn has two projecting ears opposite each other, which fitted into corresponding double ones attached to a lid, by which the vessel, when found, was closely covered; and the whole of the projections were perforated to admit a pin which completed the fastening. The lid was unfortunately broken in opening the urn. It was made of the same materials, and fitted into the mouth which was formed for its reception." Part of the rim has also been broken away, but enough remains to show that above each projecting ear is an opening into which the lid had fitted as an additional security. No mention is made of anything having been found within the urn thus carefully secured, but beside it lay a sword, unfortunately no longer known to exist. It is described as "one-edged; the hilt of brass, the blade iron, seventeen inches and a quarter long, one inch and a quarter broad at the guard, from whence it tapers to the point; when found it was enclosed in a wooden scabbard." Sir R. C. Hoare describes an iron sword found in a tumulus opened

by him at King's Barrow, in the Vale of Warminster, "which had a handle of oakwood. The blade was about eighteen inches long, two inches wide, and single-edged."

In 1791, four urns were discovered under a large stone near Drumglow Hill, Kincardineshire, and some others in a neighbouring cairn, of which the sole description given is that they were made of very coarse materials, and the outside glazed and ornamented with dotted lines.¹ In 1832, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller presented to the Scottish Antiquaries "a finely formed barbed arrow-head of flint, and a fragment of what is supposed by the donor to have been a glazed sepulchral vase, found at Merlsford, at the foot of the Lomond Hill, Fifeshire."² This specimen is too imperfect to furnish any idea of the form of the vase, though it affords additional evidence of the introduction of this characteristic change in the primitive Scottish pottery at an early period.

Swords and other relics of iron are by no means rare, though the condition in which they are generally found is little calculated to tempt the navy or farm-labourer to aim at their preservation; and their extreme corrosion frequently leaves no very definite traces of their original forms. Such is the condition of a fractured sword, spear-head, axe, and other objects found under a cairn at Hunthills, Roxburghshire, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. Robert Dalrymple, in 1800. Others, assignable on various grounds to Roman, Saxon, and Danish artificers, have been recovered from time to time. Occasionally a Roman or other relic of more durable materials, deposited in the cairn or barrow, or lying with other chance disclosures of the peat moss, serves, like the date of an inscription, to fix the period to which a group of objects of undoubted

¹ Sinclair's *Statist. Acc.* vol. iii. p. 561.

² *Minutes Soc. Antiq. Scot.* January 23, 1832.

native workmanship belongs. The accompanying wood-cut illustrates the characteristics of implements found a few years since underneath a thin covering of peat, at Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, and now in the Scottish Museum. They include a knife, a gouge, two hammers, and a lamp, all of iron, alongside of which lay a bronze Roman patella, and a massive iron chain and hooks of curious workmanship. Another and more remarkable discovery of arms and other iron relics was made in the month of August 1834, at Fendoch Camp, an entrenchment on the river Almond, about nine miles north-east of Crieff, in Perthshire. It is commonly described as



FIG. 134.—Cockburnspath Relics

a Roman camp, and the urns found in numerous cairns which surrounded it have been no less unhesitatingly assigned to the legionary invaders. A drawing which I possess of one of the urns, found inverted within a cist under one of the cairns, leaves no room to doubt that the mounds at least, are of British origin, and probably of a date long prior to the era of Roman invasion. On the occasion above referred to, while a labourer was digging across the eastern rampart of Fendoch Camp, he discovered at some depth below the surface three iron pots or kettles, the largest of which broke in pieces while he was in the act of raising it from the ground. The other two measured ten inches

in diameter by four and a half in depth, and eight and a half inches in diameter by three inches in depth. They were each composed of a series of concentric circles riveted together, the larger one having a straight handle twenty-one inches in length. Along with these were also found three heads of spears or javelins seven inches in length, a portion of a sword-blade eighteen and a half inches in length, three pairs of bits, two pairs of shears eleven inches long, the blades alone measuring four inches, a sort of spoon or ladle, ten inches in extreme length of handle and bowl, a beautiful hinge of yellowish metal four inches long, carved and plated with silver, in excellent preservation, besides various other implements. The most of these interesting relics were carefully packed in the largest kettle, and a flat stone placed on its mouth. This curious hoard was purchased by my friend, Mr. John Buchanan of Glasgow, under whose zealous care they might have been deemed secure of a safe asylum; but the weighty box in which they were packed tempted some covetous knave, and our only poor consolation for their loss is to picture the mortification of the thief when he unlocked his treasure and found only a chest full of rusty iron!

But this unhappily is no solitary example of the destruction of ancient Scottish relics. "Vast quantities of arms," says the author of the Statistical Account of the parish of Cummertrees, Dumfriesshire, writing in 1834, "were lately found in a field on the farm of Corricknows, near the burgh of Annan. The farmer who found them had them all, but a brass battle-axe, converted into husbandry utensils."¹ From inquiries since made, I find that the *brass battle-axe* was a bronze celt, so that, if we may assume, as seems most probable, that the iron weapons belonged to the same era, there

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. iv. p. 249.

were here early examples of the weapons of the Iron Period. The farmer describes the swords as about two feet in length, edged on the one side to the handle, and on the other for the half length of the blade. Beside them lay some long spear-heads, nearly all broken, and more injured by rust than the swords. In the same field he also found a number of horse-shoes, some of which were an entire circle, and others curiously turned in at the heel. On the farm of Broom, in the same parish, there is a field called Bruce's Acres, where King Robert is said to have been defeated by the English; but the singular form of the horses' shoes found at Corrieknows adds additional evidence of these relics belonging to an earlier period. In the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries there are horse-shoes from the field of Bannockburn and from that of Nisbetmuir, Berwickshire, fought 24th June 1355, after the captivity of King David Bruce. They are chiefly remarkable for their very diminutive size, and in no way correspond to those described above. Antique horse-shoes of a different form have been repeatedly found in the neighbourhood of Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, a prolific source of valuable archæological relics. The ancient name of Castle Douglas, on the margin of the loch, is Causeway End, from its position in relation to an ancient causeway constructed through the marsh, and believed to be a part of one of the great Roman roads. About this place most of the ancient horse-shoes have been discovered. One of them, in the collection of Mr. Joseph Train, is described by him as consisting of a solid piece of iron, not made to go round the edge of the hoof, but to cover the whole. On the inside, especially towards the heel, it is hollowed so as not to press upon the soft part of the foot. Though much worn in front, this cumbrous lump of iron still weighs about six pounds,

so that four of them must have formed no slight impediment to a horse. To what period these equestrian furnishings should be assigned, it is not easy to determine. No relic yet discovered along with the remains of horses, so frequently found in the later tumuli, suggests the idea of the early Britons having shod the horses which they attached to their war-chariots. Montfaucon, however, describes a small iron horse-shoe, discovered in 1653, in the tomb of Childeric, founder of the French monarchy, whose horse had been interred along with him, A.D. 481. The Rev. Samuel Pegge, in an ingenious paper "On the Shoeing of Horses among the Ancients,"¹ conceives that the custom was introduced into England by William the Conqueror; but it seems improbable that either the Anglo-Romans or the Anglo-Saxons should have remained ignorant of a device which allusions of Homer lead us to suppose was not unknown to the Greeks many centuries before.

Ure describes and engraves in his *History of the Parish of East Kilbride*,² a very interesting discovery made at Castlemilk, in 1792, of a helmet, gorget, dagger, and other iron relics, along with which were two bronze vessels, one of them of peculiar form, and also the remains of a leaden vase; but these it is probable were medieval antiquities. No doubt, however, can be entertained of the era of another iron relic described by him, but of which unfortunately no engraving exists. Some workmen engaged in demolishing a cairn in the same parish found in it a large urn filled with human bones, and close by it an iron implement designated "an old spade of a clumsy shape," but which was more probably an ancient bill or battle-axe. Mr. Robert Riddell describes two such weapons, figured in the *Archæologia*.³

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 39.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. x. Plate XL.

² Ure's *Rutherglen and Kilbride*, p. 159.

They were found in a moss near Terregles, Dumfriesshire, and measure each two and a half feet long, and above two inches thick at the back, though greatly corroded with rust. The Kilbride discoverers, on finding the urn, had confidently anticipated that its contents would prove a golden treasure, which they magnanimously resolved should be equitably divided. Having gulped down their mortification as best they might on finding their whole treasure dwindle to an old iron bill, "it was at length unanimously agreed that it should not be sold; it might, for anything they knew, be uncommonly ominous, especially as it was iron, and taken out of a grave which was generally believed to be haunted." So the desired division of the spoil was at length secured by having the curious relic converted into *tackets* or hobnails for their shoes!¹

The general character of the older Scottish superstitions in regard to iron, of which we have here some indications, is more frequently shown by referring to it as a charm against spells and malign influences of all sorts, entirely corresponding in this respect to the popular creed of Norway at the present day. In describing the "Adder Stone," Ure remarks, "It is thought by superstitious people to possess many wonderful properties. It is used as a charm, to insure prosperity, and to prevent the malicious attacks of evil spirits. In this case, it must be closely kept in an iron box to secure it from the fairies, who are supposed to have an utter abhorrence at iron." This may be compared with another canon of northern folk-lore, referred to in a former chapter,² in relation to the flint arrow-head or elf-bolt. The inferences suggested by both are the same, pointing to an epoch when iron, as a novel introduction, could in no way be associated with the Elves and Gnomes, old as the primitive stone

¹ Ure's *Rutherglen and Kilbride*, p. 212.

² *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 178-9.

weapons of the aborigines. Pennant, however, describes a curious charm against witchcraft, in use in the Hebrides, where the milk of enchanted kine is boiled along with both flints and untempered steel,—the bane and the antidote,—which was held to give the operator complete power over the enchanter. We are still familiar with the rustic faith in the efficiency of the iron horse-shoe affixed to the stable-door as a certain protection against all supernatural evil influences.

A remarkable class of urns, apparently peculiar to Scotland, appears to belong for the most part to the Iron Period. They vary in form, but all agree in the singular characteristic of being open at both ends. One of these was discovered within the area of a stone circle at Barrach, Aberdeenshire, by a peasant digging for stones. It lay under a flat stone, with another placed below it, and was found to be filled with human bones.¹ Others are described in the old Statistical Reports as resembling chimney-cans. But the most minute account of this singular class of sepulchral urns is furnished by Ure, to whose indefatigable researches within the limited district of which he has treated, we owe so many valuable reminiscences of bygone discoveries. "In the bottom of a very small cairn on the lands of East Rogertoun, the property of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, were found five urns not of the ordinary shape. They were about eighteen inches high; six wide at the one end and four at the other. Both ends were open. They were said by the workmen to be glazed, and ornamented with flowers; and narrower in the middle than at either end. They stood upon smooth stones distant from each other about three-quarters of a yard, and placed in a circular form. The top of each urn was covered with a thin piece of stone. They were all totally destroyed by the rustic

¹ *Scots Magazine*, 1772, p. 581.

labourers." Such is the lamentable yet ever-recurring history of our national antiquities.

The iron relics of this period by no means yield the same amount of information as we have been able to derive from older weapons and implements of bronze, chiefly owing to the extreme susceptibility of the newer metal to oxidation under nearly all the circumstances in which both classes of antiquities are discovered. This want, however, we shall find abundantly supplied from other sources, including contemporary works in bronze. Among the characteristic remains of defensive armour most frequently met with, the umbones of shields occupy a prominent place. The larger ones are of sufficient size to admit the hand, and resemble in this, as well as in other respects, those commonly found in the Anglo-Saxon barrows of England. They suffice to show that the shield was not worn on the arm like the Roman clypeus, but held by a bar crossing the centre of the projecting boss, the hollow of which received and protected the hand. In this it closely corresponded to the bronze buckler of the previous period, which probably continued to be used contemporarily with it. An example of an iron umbo found in Morayshire is figured on a subsequent page. Another, referred to in a brief summary given in the *Nenia Britannica*, of relics found at Westray, Orkney, is described as "a very small iron vessel like a head-piece, only four and a half inches in the hollow, bruised apparently by a sword or an axe." In the Scottish Museum is a small iron boss, found at Corbiehall, near Carstairs, Lanarkshire, which is only slightly raised in the centre. The locality where it was discovered has furnished many Roman remains, among which it most probably ought to be classed. In general form it resembles an exceedingly beautiful boss of a Roman shield in the same collection, made of bronze,

and decorated in relief with a crowned female figure seated, holding Victory in her hand, and surrounded with the spoils of war.

A rare and more remarkable object pertaining to this period is the iron sword, enclosed in its bronze sheath, several very fine examples of which have been found at different times in the Thames; in the Witham below Lincoln; under a cairn at Worton, Lancashire; at Stanwich and Flasby, Yorkshire; and in the heart of the Scottish Lothians. The bronze scabbard is the really interesting and characteristic feature, with its novel shape and peculiar style of ornamentation. In more than one example the corroded iron blade remains enclosed in the sheath; and the discovery in at least two instances of the bronze leaf-shaped sword alongside of these, indicates their origin in the transitional period when iron was gradually superseding the beautiful but less practical alloy. The illustration is copied from a very perfect example, found, as an inscription roughly scratched on it indicates, on the Mortenhall estate, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, and now preserved in the Scottish Museum. The weapon corresponds in proportions to the light and graceful bronze sword. It appears to have had a straight two-edged blade, measuring, in the example engraved here, twenty-two and a half inches in length, by little more than one inch in breadth, terminating in a sharp point. Whether we compare it with the *enormes gladii* described by Tacitus as in use by the Caledonians, or with the ponderous weapons of the later Saxons



FIG. 125.

and Danes, the contrast is equally striking, and seems to confirm its reference either to a diverse race or to some earlier period. In all the examples hitherto found the scabbard is furnished with the same large bronze loop attached to the middle, as shown in the woodcut, and which can scarcely be supposed to be designed for mere ornament, though its use is not very obvious. The ornamental devices correspond for the most part to those employed in decorating the later personal ornaments and the horse-furniture of this period, and supply evidence of a remarkable change from the undefined ornamentation of earlier archaic work. Some resemblance may be traced to the ogee patterns of the Cairnmure sceptre-head; and the correspondence is unmistakable between the arbitrary but graceful devices and those on the beautiful Stichel head-ring figured among the personal ornaments in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

It has been already noticed that silver appears to have been a metal very little known in Britain, or the north of Europe, prior to the changes which we associate with the introduction of iron; nor is it difficult, as we have seen, to account for this. The rarity of iron during the primitive periods arises chiefly from the occurrence of the ore in a form least resembling metal, and requiring the most laborious and difficult process to reduce it to a state fit for use; while the absence of silver is no less satisfactorily accounted for from the mining operations requisite for reaching the argentiferous veins, which were only possible when the introduction of the more useful metals had supplied an abundance of the requisite tools. One class of silver ornaments, however, retains the same primitive and indefinite style of decoration which has already been described as occurring on the pottery, and also on some of the bronze and gold ornaments found in the tumuli. The Scottish Museum of Antiquities has been recently enriched by an unusually valuable collection of silver relics, including large fibulæ, armillæ, torques, and other ornaments, weighing in all upwards of sixteen pounds avoirdupois, which were discovered along with a quantity of celtic coins, and a silver penny of Athelstan, in a rabbit-hole, near the shore of the Bay of Skail, in the parish of Sandwich, Orkney. Here

some wandering Norse Viking had buried the treasure which he never returned to reclaim; and many other notices of recovered treasure in the Scottish islands, or on the coasts of the neighbouring mainland, show how common was this mode of securing the spoils of those ocean-wanderers.

In the month of November 1830, some labourers engaged in digging for stones, in a field near Quendale, Shetland, came upon the remains of an old building; and on searching among the rubbish, they found a decayed horn, which appeared to have been wrapped up in a piece of cloth, but the whole crumbled to pieces on exposure to the air. On the outside of the horn were what were at first supposed to be metal hoops, but which proved to be six silver bracelets. They were penannular, and tapered nearly to a point at the ends. The largest were square, and ornamented with a kind of herring-bone pattern; the remainder were round and plain. The weight of the heaviest was nearly six ounces, that of the least one ounce, and one which weighed nearly one ounce and a half, had silver wire coiled round it. Within the horn were pieces of other bracelets, and a quantity of Anglo-Saxon silver coins, including those of Ethered, Athelstan, Edwy, Eadgar, and Ethelred; and alongside were also discovered several broken stone basins. A few of the coins were preserved, but the armillæ, and the remainder of the hoard, were disposed of to a goldsmith in Lerwick, and melted down. Slight sketches of the armillæ, and a deposition taken before the Sheriff-substitute of Zetland by the discoverers, are deposited in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Barry describes another hoard extremely similar to this, found at Cuddale near Kirkwall. Two horns were discovered by a man while digging peats: they contained about three hundred silver coins of Canute the Great, and near

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them lay "several pieces of fine silver, in the form of crescents or fibulæ, differing from one another a good deal, both in figure and dimensions. Some of them were flat, others angled; some round, some nearly met at the ends; others were wider at the extremities; one resembled in shape the staple of a door, and another a loop for hanging clothes upon."¹ A portion of the coins alone escaped the usual fate of British relics of the precious metals. A silver armilla, of the same type as those discovered at Cuerdale,² was found, in the year 1756, in a cist, along with a quantity of burnt human bones, underneath a large cairn at Blackerne, Kirkcudbrightshire, when the stones composing the cairn were taken



FIG. 196.—Silver Chain, Caledonian Canal.

to enclose a plantation. It is now in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. A silver bracelet, of a rare and more artistic design, was discovered at Burgh Head, Morayshire, by labourers engaged in digging the foundation for a new house, and is engraved the full size in the *Archæologia Scotica*.³ The woodcut represents another remarkable Scottish relic, a massive silver chain, found in the year 1808, near Inverness, in the course of the excavations for the Caledonian Canal, which now forms one of the most valued treasures of its class in the Scottish Museum. It weighs a little more than ninety-three ounces, and each link is open, and only bent together, so that it may perhaps be assumed with

¹ Barry's *Orkney*, p. 225.

² *Archæol. Jour.* vol. iv. p. 111.

³ *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iii. Plate v.

considerable probability to have been designed for use in barter, being in fact silver ring-money. There are thirty-three links in all, each of them measuring one and nine-tenths inches in diameter, and about two-fifths of an inch in thickness, excepting two at one extremity, and one at the other, each of which are two and one-fifth inches in diameter. With this exception the links appear to be of uniform size, and would probably be found to correspond in weight. An additional link, which was in an imperfect state, was destroyed by the original discoverers, in an attempt to ascertain the nature of the metal. Another silver chain, described in the New Statistical Account, was found within the area of an entrenched camp, about two miles above Greenlaw, Berwickshire, at the confluence of the Blackadder and Faungrass rivers.

Reference has already been made to the discovery of nine lunar ornaments of silver, on opening one of the great tumuli, or Knowes of Brogar, at Stennis, in Orkney. Notices of fibulæ, and other relics of the same metal, are to be found scattered through the Statistical Accounts, but mostly described in such vague terms as to render them of little avail to the archæologist. The information is usually added that they were immediately concealed or destroyed. A rude chain, now in my own possession, was found a few years ago in the Isle of Skye; two of the links are of silver, and the third of bronze. It corresponds to relics composed of fragments of rings broken in pieces for the purpose of exchange, with which both British and Scandinavian antiquaries are familiar. They are not uncommonly linked together, as in the example now referred to.

The bronze relics of this period are much more abundant; and here it is that we for the first time come in contact with examples bearing undoubted traces of

Scandinavian art ; though these belong more correctly to the succeeding era, and will be treated of in detail, among objects of the primitive Christian Period of Scotland. The distinguishing characteristic of the ornamentation of the last Pagan era, as has already been remarked, is its definiteness and positive development of a peculiar style, along with the imitation of natural forms. A very great similarity, however, is traceable in the ornamentation of the whole northern races of Europe throughout a very considerable period ; and in numerous cases it is only by a careful discrimination of details, or from some well-defined objects peculiar to certain districts or countries, that we are able to assign a specific epoch or nationality to discoveries. The interlaced ornament, or "runic knot-work," as it is customary to call it, is not unfrequently referred to as of Scandinavian origin ; but of this there is not the slightest evidence. It was familiar to the Greeks and Romans, and in its classic forms is known to architects by the term *Guilloche*, borrowed from the French. A beautiful and early example of its use occurs on the torus of the Ionic columns of the Erechtheum at Athens. It pertains, in like manner, to all the northern races of the last Pagan era ; while it forms a no less characteristic ornament of early Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Christian art. In Scotland especially it is the commonest decoration of a remarkable class of monuments, more particularly referred to hereafter, but of which it is sufficient meanwhile to say that they rarely occur in localities where the Scandinavian influence was longest predominant in Scotland, and its relics are still most frequently found. The suggestive source of the beautiful interlaced patterns may be traced, as in the ornamentation of the earlier pottery, to the knitting and netting of primitive industrial arts ; but many elements of comparison common to the artistic decoration

of the historic and unhistoric nations of ancient Europe serve to indicate the indirect yet all-pervading influence developed around the shores of the Mediterranean. Several of the earlier decorations of the Scandinavian Bronze Period are also to be found in use by the Romans. The annular ornaments figured in the Guide to Northern Archæology occur on almost every Anglo-Roman patella; the spiral and double spiral ornaments are both frequently met with on mosaics; and an urn, shown in the same work, is surrounded with one of the simplest varieties of the *frette*, a still more familiar classic pattern;¹ though it is no less common on Mexican and



FIG. 187.—Titalpin Bronze Bracelet.

Central American pottery and sculpture. The only essentially characteristic ornaments of the arts of the northern European races are the serpentine and dragon patterns. In so far as these are not the obvious creations of fancy, they appear to be traceable to an eastern source, the traditions of which are even more obvious in monuments of Scottish than of Scandinavian art.

So much has been already said in reference to the legitimate conclusions deducible from the materials now under review, that it will suffice to indicate a few of the objects most characteristic of this period. One of the

¹ *Guide to Northern Archæology*, pp. 43, 70.

most familiar of these is the snake bracelet. Examples of it have been frequently found in Scotland, and several very fine ones are preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. The annexed woodcut represents one of these, weighing thirty-one ounces. It was found at Pitalpin, near Dundee, in 1732, and bears considerable resemblance to another, and still more beautiful one, found, about the year 1823, among the sand-hills of Culbin, near the estuary of the river Findhorn, Morayshire. The circumstances attending the discovery of the latter are thus narrated by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder :—

“Some of the sand-hills of Culbin are a hundred feet in perpendicular height ; but the material composing them being an extremely comminuted granite sand, is so loose and light, that, except in a dead calm, it is in eternal motion, so that parts of the original soil are laid entirely bare. Though flints are not included in the mineralogical list of this country, yet there is one small spot among the sand-hills where flinty fragments are often picked up ; and as Elf-bolts, or flint arrow-heads, have been not unfrequently found on this spot, it is supposed that a manufactory of those rude aboriginal weapons may have once existed there. The finder having accidentally lost his gun-flint, went to the spot to look for a flint to replace it, and in searching about he discovered the antique.”¹ The weight of the bracelet is two pounds nine ounces avoirdupois, and the form of the snake-heads, with which both ends terminate, seems to indicate that they have been originally jewelled. It can hardly be supposed that either of the above beautiful, but ponderous ornaments, was designed to be worn on the wrist. Such a weight would cumber the sword-arm of the most athletic hero ; and this is still further confirmed

¹ *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 99. It is engraved in a superior style in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. Plate xxv.

by the form of the example found at Pitalpin, the inner edges of which are so sharp that they would not only gall the arm, but even be apt to wound it on any violent action. Such ponderous bracelets were, in all probability, honorary gifts or votive offerings, though there is also reason to believe that they were regarded in the same light as the Scandinavian sacramental rings previously referred to. A remarkable passage in illustration of this occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 876, where it is recorded that when the Danes made peace with Alfred, at Wareham in Wessex, they gave him the noblest amongst them as hostages, and swore oaths to him upon



FIG. 128.—Bronze Ornament.

the Halza Beage, or holy bracelet.¹ Examples, however, of bronze snake bracelets of lighter weight, and evidently designed to be worn, are of more frequent occurrence. In 1833 there were exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, two bronze bracelets in the shape of serpents, found in the district of Bunrannoch, Perthshire, on the northern declivity of the mountain Schiehallion. The one weighed one pound two ounces, the other, one pound fourteen and a half ounces avoirdupois, and they are described as similar to the Findhorn

¹ *Chron. Sax.* edit. Gibs. p. 83, quoted by H. Ellis, Esq., *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 292.

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Among the earliest definite forms of Northern art, the serpent or dragon is the most common subject adopted for direct imitation, or as a suggestive basis for the play of artistic fancy. The woodcut (Fig. 128) represents a singular bronze ornament in the Scottish Museum, about one-third the size of the original, the purpose of which is uncertain; though its style of workmanship completely accords with that of other well-known native relics. The protuberances on the snake-formed

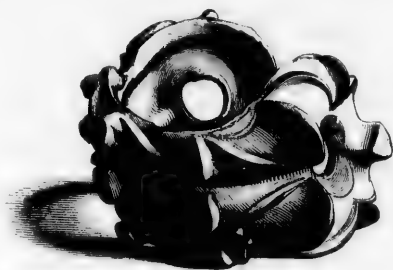


FIG. 129.—Bronze Armlet.

bracelets, evidently designed originally to represent the scales of the serpent, appear to have latterly become a conventional ornament, and are to be found on bronze relics unaccompanied by any more defined features of the snake or dragon. The annexed woodcut illustrates a class of bronze objects in the Scottish Museum, whereon the triple snake-like form and scales are represented, but without the head or any more distinct characteristic of the reptile. It measures five inches in its greatest diameter, exclusive of the projecting scale-like ornaments. The exact locality where it was found has not

¹ Minutes of Soc. Antiq. Scot. April 22, 1833.

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been noted; but another specimen, a little smaller in size, is believed to have been dug up in Argyleshire; and all the examples hitherto described appear to have been discovered in the northern part of the island. The probable use of such relics as armlets has been recently confirmed by two successive discoveries of pairs. Of these, one pair was found near Drummond Castle, Perthshire, and presented to the British Museum by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, in 1837. The other pair was recovered in the course of excavations made in the grounds at Castle Newe, Strathdon, Aberdeenshire. Both of those possess an additional interest from having the perforations in each armlet filled in with a pattern beautifully wrought in different coloured enamels. The example engraved above (Fig. 129) weighs fully two pounds avoirdupois, so that it must have proved a badge of honour little less cumbrous than the bronze bracelets previously described.

Of the commoner forms of torcs, head-rings, armlets, and other personal ornaments of this period, examples are not rare in Scotland, though the want until recently of any efficient system for securing them from destruction, when of the precious metals, or of being buried in private collections and almost as effectually lost for nearly all useful purposes, renders it difficult to obtain accurate accounts of the great majority of discoveries. Some of the simpler bronze torcs and head-rings have already been described among the relics of the Archaic Period. But one of the most beautiful neck ornaments ever found in Scotland is a beaded torc discovered by a labourer while cutting turf in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, about two miles to the north of Comlongan Castle; and now in the British Museum. It is engraved on Plate 1X, along with the bronze vessel in which it was enclosed. The beads, which measure rather more than an inch in diameter, are boldly ribbed and grooved longi-

tudinally. Between every two ribbed beads there is a small flat one, formed like the wheel of a pulley, or the vertebral bone of a fish. The portion which must have passed round the nape of the neck is flat and smooth on the inner edge, but chased on the upper side in an elegant incised pattern, corresponding to the ornamentation already described as characteristic of this period, and bearing some resemblance to that on the beautiful bronze diadem found at Stichel in Roxburghshire, figured on a subsequent page. The beads are disconnected, having apparently been strung upon a metal wire, as was the case in another example found in the neighbourhood of Worcester. A waved ornament chased along the outer edge of the solid piece seems to have been designed in imitation of a cord: the last tradition, as it were, of the string with which the older necklace of shale or jet was secured. Altogether this example of the class of neck ornaments styled Beaded Torcs, furnishes an exceedingly interesting illustration of the development of imitative design, in contradistinction to the more simple and archaic funicular torc, which, though continued in use down to a late period, pertains to the epoch of primitive art.

Various other personal ornaments have been discovered in Scotland, manifestly belonging to this late era when artistic design had been fully developed, and its works were characterized by a well-defined style. Of one of the most remarkable of these a drawing has fortunately been preserved, made to illustrate a communication to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1787, though the original, it is to be feared, must no longer be sought for. The cairn in which the relic was found is thus described: "At Cluimmore, near Blair-Atholl, there is a beautiful green cairn, called Sithain-na-Cluana, *i.e.*, the Fairy Hill of Clune. It is about twenty paces high obliquely, and about one hundred and twenty paces in circumference.

Upon the top of it there are the two side stones of the altar still remaining, upon which there are engraved some hieroglyphics, so much defaced that they are not readable unless the stones were turned over and narrowly examined."¹ A rough square outline is marked, "the urn, now open, 1½ ft. long;" and following it is the sketch, of which the annexed woodcut is an exact copy, of the same size. It is described as the "Large bronze ring found in the cairn of Clunemore." Rings of a similar character to this, though differing greatly in their details, have been frequently found in Denmark, and various fine examples are preserved in the valuable



FIG. 130.—Ring for Hair, Cairn of Clunemore.

collection at Copenhagen. But the most remarkable feature of this very curious relic is the hooded snake's head which terminates one of the ends, the other having been most probably finished in like manner. It appears to have almost exactly corresponded to those on the large snake bracelet found near Findhorn, and, like it, seems to have been jewelled. Objects of this class are named by the Danish antiquaries, Rings for the Hair. A comparison of this example, with one engraved in the English edition of Mr. Worsaae's *Primæval Antiquities* (p. 34), will best illustrate their general resemblance, and the very marked difference of their details. Whether

¹ MS. Soc. Antiq. Scot. read May 1, 1787.

designed as an ornament for the head or the neck, the Clunemore ring, with its singular snake-head finials, could not fail to prove a very striking article of personal adornment. Besides hair-rings, the Danish tumuli furnish numerous gold and bronze bands, diadem and coronet shaped ornaments, and other head-dresses, nothing similar to which are known in this country. Examples of these are engraved both by Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Worsaae, including a remarkable one figured in the *Primeval Antiquities*, which was found a few years since in the neighbourhood of Haderslev, and has an inscription engraved on the inner side, in Runic characters, supposed to denote the name of the original possessor. Other rings which occur among Scandinavian sepulchral deposits are classified by Danish antiquaries among articles supposed to have been connected with Pagan worship. These include several varieties of penannular rings not greatly differing in general form from the British gold relics already described under that name. But besides those there are others of a larger size, one of which is described as "a large ring or girdle of massive gold mixed with silver, which is riveted together in the middle of the front, and is conceived to have been the ornament of an idol; for it can scarcely be supposed that any human being could have constantly worn such a ring."¹

A variety of independent proofs, some of which have already been referred to, amply justify the archæologist in assigning the relics of the Archaic Period of British art to an era long prior to that of the Scandinavian Vikings. But there is not wanting evidence to show that at the latter period also golden armillæ and other native personal ornaments were common in Scotland, and, indeed, frequently furnished the chief attractions

¹ *Primeval Antiquities*, p. 64.

not only to the piratical Vikings who first infested our shores, but to the more civilized Northmen who supplanted them, and established trading colonies in the northern and western isles. Though the full consideration of the influence of Scandinavian aggression on early Scottish history belongs to a subsequent section, it will not be out of place to glance at some of those proofs here : tending as they do to show that there is in reality greater probability in favour of some of the gold relics found in Denmark and Norway being of British origin, than that our native relics should be ascribed to a Scandinavian source.

Snorro tells of two thanes from *Fiord-riki*, or the kingdom of the firth, as the southern coast of Fife was called, who, dreading the descent of Olave of Norway on their shores, put themselves under the protection of Canute. Snorro's account is literally,—“To Canute came two kings from Scotland in the north, from Fife; and he gave them up his, and all that land which they had before, and therewith received store of winning gifts (*vingiafir*). This quoth Sigvatr—

‘Princes, with bowed heads,
Have purchased peace from Canute,
From the coast,
From the midst of Fife, in the north.’”¹

Ringa eldingham, or bright rings, are frequently mentioned among the spoils of the Norse rovers; though it is not always easy to tell whether they refer to ornamental rings and bracelets, or to tribute paid with ring-money. Even at a date so recent as Haco's celebrated expedition against Scotland, A.D. 1263, frequent allusions occur to such golden spoils, and especially in the extracts from the “Raven's Ode,” a song of Sturla, the Scandinavian bard, whose nephew, Sigvat Bodvarson,

¹ Notes to “*Luthbrokar-Quida*,” Rev. J. Johnstone. Denmark, 1782.

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attended Haco in this expedition, and most probably supplied to Sturla materials for the narrative of his poem. The poet may be assumed to use terms familiar from their occurrence in the victors' songs of elder pagan times, as modern bards still speak of the hero's bays, rather than literally to describe Scottish spoils of the thirteenth century, in reference to an expedition in which the "exactors of rings" were in any sense a purely poetic fiction. The figurative allusions, however, illustrate the habits of earlier times. The foe is described as terrified by "the steel-clad exactor of rings;" and Haco's reduction of the island of Bute is thus celebrated:—"The wide-extended Bute was won from the forlorn wearers of rings by the renowned and invincible hosts of the promoter of conquest. They wielded the two-edged sword; the foes of our Ruler fell, and the raven, from his field of slaughter, winged his flight for the Hebrides."¹ We find also, in the same poem, Haco restoring the island of Ila to Angus, on similar terms to those by which the favour of Canute was purchased:—"Our sovereign, sage in counsel, the imposer of tribute and brandisher of the keen falchion, directed his long galleys through the Hebrides. He bestowed Ila, taken by his warriors, on the valiant Angus, the distributor of the beauteous ornaments of the hand," i.e., rings or bracelets. Here then we find the northern bard scornfully designating the Scottish foe-men as "the forlorn wearers of rings," and their tributary chiefs as the "distributors of the beauteous bracelets." It is by the same name of "exactors of rings," claimed by the Scandinavian poet, that the early Irish bards describe the northern warriors who infested their coasts from the ninth to the eleventh centuries; while older allusions abundantly prove their familiarity

¹ *Haco's Expedition*, Rev. J. Johnstone, p. 65.

with the "rings" long before the first descent of the Vikings on their shores. An interesting passage in an ancient ms. of the Brehon Laws, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, illustrates this, in reference to the wife of Nuada Neacht, King of Leinster, in the first century:—"The Righ of the wife of Nuada, she was used to have her hand (or arm) covered with rings of gold for bestowing them on poets." It is indeed abundantly manifest that native artists had learned to fabricate the golden armilla long before the Norse spoiler visited their shores; so that the theory of Danish, or of



FIG. 131.—Stichel Head-Ring.

any other foreign origin for such relics, may be dismissed as equally unnecessary and untenable.

A beautiful bronze relic in the Scottish collection, apparently of the class of head rings, represented in Fig. 131, was discovered in the year 1747, about seven feet below the surface, when digging for a well, at the east end of the village of Stichel, in Roxburghshire. It bears some resemblance to objects of the same class in the Christiansborg Palace, yet nothing exactly similar has been found among Scandinavian remains; while

some of its ornamental details closely correspond to those which characterize the British horse-furniture and other native relics of this period. A bronze armlet, Plate x. Fig. 132, found near Planton Castle, Kirkcudbright, in 1826, and now also in the Scottish collection, is decorated with similar patterns, wrought, as on it, by hammering up the external thin plates of bronze. Both objects also correspond in being formed in two pieces made to open and shut at their juncture by means of a hinge. When closed, the clasp also consists, in each, of a pin made to pass through a double loop or catch; and both are still so perfect that they can be opened and clasped with ease. It seems probable that the Stichel ring should rank among head ornaments, though it differs in some important respects from any other object of the same class hitherto described; and if designed to be entwined with the hair, the hinge and clasp would be superfluous. But the oval which it forms equally unfits it for being worn encircling the head or the neck. Its greatest length is from side to side, where it measures internally five inches and nine-tenths, while its lesser diameter is five inches and one-tenth; it is therefore much too small to be worn round the head, and it is equally little adapted as a collar for the neck. Its special purpose is therefore still open to conjecture.

Montfaucon, Vallancey, and other continental and Irish antiquaries, have traced the original of the lunar head-ornaments to the well-known head-dress so common in Egyptian sculpture, and, following out their favourite Druidical theories, have assumed them to be the special badge of the Druid priests.¹ There are not wanting, however, traces of ancient customs among the races of Northern Europe which would lead us rather to assign them as a part of female adornment, as Mr. Bireh

¹ *Collect. de Rel. Hiber.* No. xlii. p. 70.

has already done to the analogous gorgets, so nearly resembling them in form.¹ The maiden coronet, or tire for the hair, in use among the northern races of Europe, is frequently referred to in their ballads, with allusions which show that it had the same significance as the snood of the Scottish maiden, A. S. *snod*, Welsh, *ysnuden*, the symbol of virginity, which she exchanged for the toy or coif after marriage. In old Scottish songs the loss of the snood, as with the Romans the *mitram solvere*, is a favourite euphemism ; and a similar symbolical significance of the maiden head-dress or girdle appears to have been recognised among many nations. To *tyne her snood* is still a sufficiently intelligible phrase in Scotland for the loss which forfeits the privileges of a maiden, without admitting to those of a matron. The Greek poets abound with allusions to the nuptial ceremony of taking off the bride's coronet, and the Jews still preserve a similar usage ; so that in this, as in many other northern customs, we seem to recover traditions of the Teutonic races, brought with them from their older Asiatic home.

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. iii. p. 35.

CHAPTER VI.

• *SEPULCHRES OF THE IRON PERIOD.*

THE descriptions already given of the circumstances under which objects belonging to this era have been found, have supplied some sufficiently characteristic illustrations of the sepulchral rites of the period. Few well-defined examples, however, of tombs of the era immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity have yet fallen under the notice of observers competent to furnish a satisfactory report of their appearance, or of the peculiarities which have marked the mode of interment in Scotland during this last Pagan age. They are, indeed, comparatively rare, arising, in part at least, from the period having been one probably of greatly shorter duration than those which have been previously considered; but also, we may assume, from increasing civilisation having limited the sepulchral honours of the cairn, or the huge barrow, with its costly deposits, to the most distinguished chiefs. This latter conclusion receives confirmation from many cists found without any superincumbent heap, the contents of which, though of little moment, frequently suffice to connect them with the age of iron. To those tombs of this period, already referred to in previous chapters, one or two additional examples of special interest, however, remain to be added. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller thus describes a discovery made on his estate of Urquhart, Fifeshire, in the autumn of 1832:

'In trenching the ground within about three hundred yards of Melford, on the Eden, I came upon the remains of two cairns, adjoining which was dug up a spear-head. It was under the root of a tree about a hundred years old, about three feet under the surface, and is the only one of iron that I have met with." The spear-head, which is figured here, though too imperfect to show the original form of the blade, has been wrought with great skill. It measures, in its present state, only six and a half inches long. The Colonel also describes, among the objects discovered on the same site, an iron dagger, completely oxidized, a bronze fibula, and a quantity of bones and ashes. Along with those a small vase, or "incense cup," and several pieces of pottery, were met with, one of the



FIG. 133.—Iron Spear-Head.

thickest of which was strongly vitrified.¹ In another cairn, called Gaskhill, near the village of Collessie, in the same county, there was discovered, a few years since, an iron sword, now preserved at Kinloch House. Though greatly corroded, its original form is still sufficiently distinguishable. It measures fully eighteen inches in length, with one edge, returned from the point a short way on the back; differing in this respect from the pointless sword of the ancient Caledonian, as described by Tacitus, though corresponding to other examples found in Scotland, such as those already referred to, which were discovered in the parish of Cummertrees, Dumfriesshire, in 1834. In the course of the following year, a large

¹ MS. Letter, Soc. Antiq. Scot., Dec. 1832.

tumulus on the farm of Dasholm, near Garscube, Dumbartonshire, was partially demolished, within which was a stone chamber containing a bronze or copper relic, described as the visor of a helmet, with a spear-head, the blade of a sword, two small picks, and various other relics, all of iron, but concerning the original use of many of which the discoverers could form no idea.¹ The tumulus has been only very partially explored, and it is not improbable that it may furnish equally interesting contents to some future excavator. In 1836, another large tumulus was opened in the neighbourhood of the Clyde Ironworks, Lanarkshire, which contained, besides two cinerary urns filled with ashes, two bronze bridle-bits, and various other relics, supposed to have formed portions of horse-furniture. The relics included in the latter class may justly rank among the most interesting remains peculiar to the Iron Period.

We know from the accounts of the Roman historian, that when the invading army of Agricola was withstood by the united forces of the Caledonians, one of their most formidable provisions for assailing the legions was the native war-chariot. The incidents preserved to us in the narrative of that memorable campaign of the Roman general, furnish the chief historical evidence we now possess of the degree of civilisation to which the native tribes of North Britain had attained at the period when they came into direct collision with the disciplined veterans of Agricola's army. But the most favourable view which can be deduced, from the allusions of classic historians, of the progress then attained, is amply borne out by contemporary archæological evidence. The union of so large a force under one native leader for the purpose of withstanding the general enemy, and the fact that the British warrior had subdued and trained the

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. viii. p. 48.

horse to his service, and was accustomed to yoke it to the war-chariot,—an ingenious and complicated piece of workmanship, requiring no slight mastery of the mechanical arts to execute,—are in themselves evidence of advancing civilisation.

The war-chariot is perhaps the most important characteristic of the last Pagan era which its tumuli reveal to us; while we discover, also, that in the sepulchral rites accorded to the most honoured dead, not only the warrior's weapons, but even their chariots and horses, were sometimes interred beside them, not improbably with the idea that they might still suffice for use in the strange Elysium whither the thoughts of survivors followed the departed chief. The horns of the deer, and other remains of the spoils of the chase, are also frequently found, and with these, occasionally the skeleton of the dog lying beside that of the hunter. But it is only in this last period, when we have reason to believe that a new race of colonists had brought with them to the British Isles many novel arts and customs, that we clearly trace the evidence of the horse having been subdued to the service of the northern Briton, or find the relics of the war-chariot among the contents of the tomb, or beside the urn.

The researches of the palæontologist establish beyond doubt that the wild horse was a native of the British Islands prior to their occupation by the earliest allophylian colonists, and even prove the existence of more than one species. "The best authenticated associations of bones of the extremities, with jaws and teeth, clearly indicate that the fossil horse had a larger head than the domesticated races; resembling in this respect the wild horses of Asia described by Pallas."¹ A smaller species of *Equus*, the *Asinus fossilis*, is also found in the more

¹ Owen's *British Fossil Mammalia*, p. 385.

recent or diluvial formations, along with existing as well as extinct species. Professor Owen remarks,—“From the peculiar and well-marked specific distinction of the primogenial or slender-legged horses (*Hippotherium*), which ranged from Central Europe to the then rising chain of the Himalayan Mountains, it is most probable that they would have been as little available for the service of civilized man as is the zebra or the wild ass of the present day; and we can as little infer the docility of the later or pliocene species, *Equus plicidens*, and *Equus fossilis*, the only ones hitherto detected in Britain, from any characters deducible from their known fossil remains. There are many specimens, however, that cannot be satisfactorily distinguished from the corresponding parts of the existing species, *Equus caballus*, which, with the wild ass, may be the sole existing survivors of the numerous representatives of the genus *Equus* in the Europæo-Asiatic continent.”¹ The question of the existence of any of the fossil species at the period of earliest colonization in Britain, is embraced within that larger one which includes the whole problem of the traces of human art in the drift, and the geological antiquity of man; but the occasional discovery of teeth and bones of the horse, along with the culinary debris of the Scottish weems and other primitive dwellings, serves to indicate its existence here among the British Fauna, and probably also its recognition as an object of the chase, long prior to its domestication and training for the Caledonian war-chariot.

A curious discovery of the tomb of a charioteer, with the skeleton of his horse, was made in the year 1829, in the neighbourhood of Ballindalloch, a small post-town in the county of Moray. It is thus communicated in a letter to the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of

¹ Owen's *British Fossil Mammalia*, p. 397.

Scotland :—"A labourer, in digging for moor-stones here, a few weeks since, on a moor about a mile from Ballindalloch, found, at a depth of above a foot from the surface, a quantity of bones, among which appear to have been a human skeleton, and also the skull and bones of a horse. The whole had been covered up, to my great regret, before I heard of it; but the labourer tells me that there were a quantity of rings and bits of iron, one of them like a great hoop; but all completely rusted. I have been fortunate enough to get hold of what I take to be the bridle [bit] of the horse, two bronze rings, joined by a double link of iron, and also some bronze rings which may have belonged to its harness. There



FIG. 134.—Iron Umbo.

were also some bits of wood, oak I find it to be from a fragment I have; but it was all too much decayed to tell what it had been."¹ The letter is accompanied with a sketch of what is described as "a curious little iron cup found in the grave." It is shown in the annexed woodcut, and will be at once recognised as the umbo which formed the centre of the shield, and received and protected the hand of its wearer. The fragments of oak found along with it may have also included part of the shield, as well as portions of the war chariot. The form of the umbo, as well as some of the other characteristics of this northern charioteer's sepulchre, suggest for it an

¹ MS. Letter, J. Stewart; Libr. Soc. Antiq. Scot.

Anglo-Saxon origin; though the lime or linden-wood is most frequently mentioned, in "Beowulf" and other early poems, as the favourite material of the shield, and greatly preferable, from its lightness, to the oak. But no evidence is required to prove the use of the war-chariot by the native Caledonian at the commencement of the Christian era; and if the example now referred to be Anglo-Saxon, it is a remarkable indication of the presence of the Pagan Saxon so far beyond the limits of the most northern kingdom of the Heptarchy, where Teutonic influence is chiefly traceable to the later Scandinavian intruders. But whether the tomb at Ballindalloch be ascribed to Briton, Saxon, or Norseman, no doubt can be entertained that we have in it one of the rare examples of the favourite chief, borne to his final resting-place in full panoply of war, and interred there in his war-chariot, with his arms and steed laid beside him,—a piece of wild barbarian pomp which puts all the modern "boast of heraldry" to shame. A bridle-bit in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, answering closely to the one described above, was found in 1822, along with the remains of the horse and rider, about two feet below the surface, in levelling May Street, in the New Town of Largs; and was accordingly assumed to be a relic of the celebrated battle fought there with the Norwegian king Haco, in 1263.¹ It consists of two plain bronze rings, measuring each three and three-quarter inches in diameter, and united by a double link of iron.

Independently of the great interest which justly attaches to the war-chariot, as an evidence of skill and of considerable progress in civilisation, the horse furniture which usually accompanies it possesses a special value from the illustrations it affords of the artistic

¹ MS. Letter, John Smith, Esq. of Swindrigemuir, to John Dillon, Esq., 28th March 1822; Libr. Soc. Antiq. Scot.

skill of the period. Among such the bridle-bits have attracted the greatest attention. The examples found in Scotland differ in no very remarkable degree from those of England and Ireland. They consist generally of two large bronze rings, united by two or sometimes three links of the same metal, and occasionally with a more elaborate ornamentation on one side than the other, suggestive of their use for the chariot where the horses were driven in pairs. They are frequently highly decorated, and the marks of later repair observable on many specimens show the great value attached to them. The beautiful example shown on Plate XI. Fig. 135, was found about the year 1785, in the bottom of a deep moss at the east end of Birrenswark Hill, Dumfriesshire : a locality rich in the remains of Roman and British arts, and where traces both of Roman and native entrenchments are still visible. The central ornament in the more highly decorated ring exhibits the same style of design as occurs on the Stichel ring and the Kirkcudbright armlet ; and some rudimentary traces of the more elaborate ornamentation on sculptured standing-stones of the succeeding period, as well as on early illuminated Irish manuscripts, are worthy of consideration, as indications of the late period to which those beautiful products of native art must be assigned. The outer diameter of the rings measures two and seven-tenth inches, and the ornamental appendages projecting into each ring still retain considerable traces of the red and blue enamel with which they have been filled. This bit must have been made for a small horse, as the centre piece measures somewhat less than two inches within the perforated loops. It appears to have been long in use. The large rings are much worn, and have been ingeniously repaired by riveting a new piece to each. The small loops or eyes also, attaching them to the bit,

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PLATE XI.



FIG. 135.—Bronze Bridge-bit, Birrenswork.



FIG. 136.



FIG. 137.

Bronze Horse Furniture, Middleby.

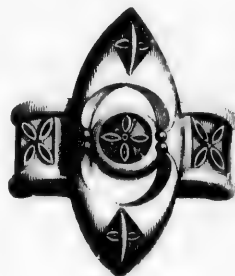


FIG. 138.

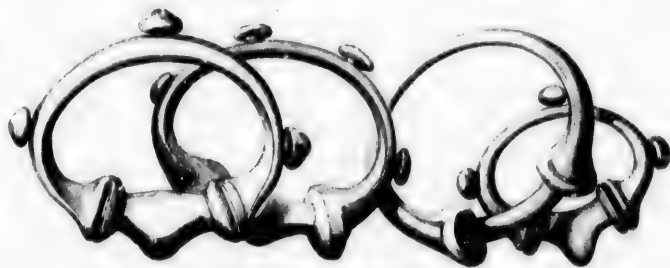


FIG. 139.—Bronze Harness-Rings, Middleby.

BRONZE HORSE FURNITURE.

have had a fresh coating of metal superadded where they were partially worn through; so that in this single example we have the accumulated evidences of metallurgic skill, artistic design, and the economical habits of an industrious community.

A remarkable discovery of ornaments, bronze rings, bridle-bits, and other portions of horse furniture was made in a moss at Middleby, Annandale, in the year 1737. The whole of these were secured by the zealous Scottish antiquary, Sir John Clerk, and are still preserved, along with numerous other objects collected by him, at Penicuik House. The bridle-bits, though plainer than the one represented on Plate XI. Fig. 135, are of the same type, and one of them corresponds to it in the want of uniformity of the two rings: designed, as has been suggested, for use by the charioteer with a pair of horses, where the more ornamental ring would be worn on the outside, and fully exposed to view. From a note in the handwriting of Sir John Clerk, attached to the example preserved at Penicuik House, the duplicate bridle-bit, which on this supposition would have shown the reverse arrangement of ornament, appears to have been presented by him to Mr. Roger Gale. Drawings of the principal objects of this valuable collection were forwarded to the Society of Antiquaries of London at the time of their discovery, by Sir John Clerk, and are still preserved.¹ Some of the most characteristic objects found at Annandale are figured on Plate XI. Figs. 136-139, from the originals at Penicuik House. They are nearly identical in type with the collection of antiquities found within the extensive entrenchments at Stanwick, on the estate

¹ S. A. L. Collection of Drawings, vol. ii, p. 61. I am indebted to the obliging attention of Mr. Albert Way for learning of the existence of these drawings, as well as for sketches, which enabled me afterwards to identify the objects in the collection at Penicuik House. The original drawings are by no means minutely correct.

of the Duke of Northumberland, and since presented by his Grace to the British Museum. Some of the principal objects are engraved in the York volume of the Archæological Institute, the Stanwick relics having been exhibited during the Congress of 1846. Another discovery of nearly similar character was made at Polden Hill, Somersetshire, in 1800.¹ These also have been secured for the British Museum, and correspond to the Annandale bridle-bit, figured on Plate XI. Fig. 137, in the delicacy of their enamel, as well as in the form and ornamental details of many of the articles. The great beauty of those objects, and the amount of decoration thus expended on horse furniture, at once prove the high state of the arts at the period to which they belong, and afford indications of the wealth and luxury of the people, which enabled them to lavish such costly ornamentation on their harness and the furnishings of their war-chariots. No account is known to have been preserved of the circumstances attending the interesting discovery at Middleby, but the place where they were found precludes the idea of their having belonged to a sepulchral deposit. By far the most ample notice we possess of one of the latter, affording illustration of the precise use of such objects, as well as of the rites and customs of their owners, occurs in an account of the opening of some barrows on the Wolds of Yorkshire, communicated to the Archæological Institute by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, Vicar of South Cave, in that county. In one of them a cist was discovered, excavated to the depth of about a foot and a half in the chalk rock, within which lay the skeleton of a British charioteer, surrounded by what in life had formed the special objects of his pride. He lay apparently at full length, with his arms folded across his breast; and near his head were found

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xiv, p. 90.

the skulls of two wild boars. On either side of the skeleton the iron tires and ornaments of the naves indicated where the chariot wheels had been placed, each nearly three feet in diameter; and under or adjoining them lay the skeletons of two horses of unequal height, as appeared from the size of their leg-bones, but neither of them probably measuring thirteen hands high. In the cist were also found the bridle-bits, rings, buckles, and other metallic furnishings of the harness. Many of these objects closely correspond to those found both at Stanwick and in the Middleby Moss, leaving no room to question their native origin and workmanship, and thus freeing us from the characteristic uncertainty apparent in the communication by Sir John Clerk to the London Antiquaries, who has thus cautiously labelled his drawings: "Horse-furniture found in a moss in Annandale, in Scotland, *supposed to be Roman or old Danish, or British!*" The chariot and horses, as well as the personal ornaments and weapons of war, deposited beside the buried chief, were no mere idle funeral pomp, but destined for his use in a future world. Doubtless his faithful attendants anticipated, when lavishing such costly rites on his sepulture, that they were furnishing them for his entrance into the Valhalla of the Gods, proudly borne in the chariot in which he had been wont to charge amid the ranks of the enemy, and achieve such deeds of valour as form the highest attainments of barbarian virtue. It is to be remarked, however, that the articles found in the Yorkshire barrows differ from those discovered in Annandale, in being of iron plated with copper; whereas the latter appear to be entirely formed of bronze, and perhaps should, on this account, be assumed to be of an earlier date; unless we assume them to mark a period when the use, or the full knowledge of the working of iron, was only partially

diffused throughout the British islands. For it is specially worthy of note, that notwithstanding a few scattered traces of the Pagan Saxon, Scotland has no true Anglo-Saxon era coincident with that which succeeds the Anglo-Roman period in the south, and furnishes to the English archæologist so rich a store of relics belonging to that transitional period in which Paganism draws to a close. In Scotland, on the contrary, Celtic arts and institutions maintained their influence even later than comparatively recent date when the Norman invader superseded Anglo-Saxon institutions in England, and revolutionized the arts both of peace and war.

It is obvious, from the various examples already cited, that much diversity existed in the modes of interment practised during the last heathen period. The cairn and tumulus, the cist and cinerary urn, all occur accompanied with contemporary relics. The Danish antiquaries are able to refer to a definite period when cremation was abandoned for inhumation. But if the date assigned by Mr. Worsaae for the close of the Danish Bronze Period be correct, it very nearly corresponds with that of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, when our later Iron Period came to a close. The substitution of the rude oaken coffin or monoxylie cist, for the primitive cist of stone, may perhaps be most conveniently referred to in describing the sepulchral remains of the last Pagan era. But while some of the oaken cists confirm such a classification by their contents, other and more remarkable examples rather suggest an era contemporaneous with the ancient canoe-makers of the Clyde and the Carse of Falkirk. Mr. Worsaae has described the investigation of a barrow, at the village of Voilerslev, containing a cist hollowed out of a very thick oaken trunk, about ten feet in length, within which were found the

remains of a woollen mantle, a sword, dagger, palstave, and brooch of bronze, a horn comb, and a round wooden vessel with two handles. English archæologists are familiar with a corresponding oaken cist, brought to light a few years since, on the opening of a tumulus at Grinstead, near Scarborough. Within this lay a human skeleton, and beside it a bronze spear-head, flint javelin and arrow heads, ornaments of bone, and a small shallow basket of wicker-work. The whole of these interesting relics are now deposited in the Scarborough Museum. So far as this single example goes, it rather tends to connect the remarkable deposit with a much earlier period. It is referred to in Mr. Thom's interesting preface to the English edition of the *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, as, with one exception, the only discovery of the kind known to have taken place in England. Probably, however, such examples are less rare than is supposed. Their occurrence has already been noted in more than one instance in Scotland, though they are little calculated to excite interest in the minds of those under whose observation unfortunately such discoveries most frequently come. On the removal of a tumulus, a few years since, on the estate of Cairngall, in the parish of Longside, Aberdeenshire, two such oaken cists were exposed. They are thus described by Mr. Roderick Gray:—"One of them was entire; the other was not. They had been hollowed out of solid trees, and measured each seven by two feet. The sides were parallel, and the ends were rounded, and had two projecting knobs to facilitate their carriage. The bark of the trees of which they had been formed remained on them, and was in the most perfect state of preservation. No vestige of bones was found in either of them. They had been covered over with slabs of wood, and lay east and west."¹ The

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. xii. p. 354.

following account by the Rev. F. Ellis, describes a more remarkable sepulchre of somewhat similar character, discovered in the parish of Culsalmond, in the same county, in the month of May 1812 :—"In preparing a field for turnips, the plough, at a spot from which a large cairn of stones and moss had been removed about thirty years before, struck against something which impeded its progress. On examination this proved to be a wooden coffin of uncommon size, and of the rudest conceivable workmanship. It had been formed from the trunk of a huge oak, divided into three parts of unequal length, each of which had been split through the middle with wedges and stone axes, or perhaps separated with some red-hot instrument of stone, as the inside of the different pieces had somewhat the appearance of having been charred. The whole consisted of six parts,—two sides, two gables, a bottom, and a lid. Only a small part of the lid remained, the greater part of it having been splintered and torn up by the plough. The coffin lay due east and west,—the head of it being in the east end of the grave. The sides were sunk into the ground thirteen and a half inches below the bottom piece. In the middle of them were grooves of rough and incomplete workmanship, and of the same length at the bottom. The projecting parts of the sides rested on a hard substance much mixed with ashes which had undergone the action of a very strong fire, and on which part of the grave had evidently been erected the funeral pile. In a corner of the coffin was an urn which was broken in the digging out. It had been formed of a mixture of clay and sand : narrowest at bottom, very wide at the top, and about ten or eleven inches deep. After the different pieces were placed in the grave in their proper order, it appears to have been surrounded with a double row of unhewn stones."¹

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. xii. p. 733.

It was my good fortune in 1850 to witness the exhumation of two examples of this remarkable class of oaken cists, under circumstances of peculiar interest. In the course of constructing an immense reservoir on the Castlehill of Edinburgh for supplying the city with water, an excavation was made on this, the highest ground, and in the very heart of the ancient capital, to a depth of twenty-five feet.¹ After removing some buildings of the seventeenth century, and several feet of soil, in which were found various coins of the Charleses and of James VI., a considerable portion of a massive stone wall was discovered, which there can be little doubt formed part of the defences of the city, erected by authority of James II., exactly four centuries before : A.D. 1450. Lower down, and entirely below the foundations of the ancient civic ramparts, the excavators came upon a bed of clay, and beneath this a thick layer of moss or decayed animal and vegetable matter, in which was found a coin of the Emperor Constantine, thus suggesting a date approximating to the beginning of the fourth century. Immediately underneath this were two coffins, each formed of a solid trunk of oak, measuring about six feet in length. They were rough and unshapen externally, as when hewn down in their native forest, and appeared to have been split open. But within they were hollowed out with considerable care, a circular space being formed for the head, and recesses for the arms ; and indeed the interior of both bore considerable resemblance to what is usually seen in the stone coffins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They lay nearly due east and west, with the heads towards the west. One of them contained a male and the other a female

¹ The excavation extended to a depth of fully thirty-three feet below the highest part of the area included within the reservoir, but at the point referred to in the text the lowest perpendicular depth was about twenty-five feet.

skeleton, unaccompanied by any weapons or other relics ; but between the two coffins the skull and antlers of a gigantic deer were found, and alongside of them a portion of another horn, artificially cut, forming most probably the head of the lance or spear with which the old hunter armed himself for the chase. The discovery of such primitive relics in the very heart of a scene of busy population, and the theatre of not a few memorable historical events, is even more calculated to awaken our interest, by the striking contrast which it presents, than when found beneath the lone sepulchral mound, or exposed by the chance operations of the agriculturist. An unsuccessful attempt was made to remove one of the coffins. Even the skulls were so much decayed that they went to pieces on being lifted, but the skull and horns of the deer found alongside of them are now deposited in the Scottish Museum.

The great diversity in the later heathen sepulchral rites may be traced with much probability to the causes which gradually led to the substitution of a Teutonic for a Celtic population in the period immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity. The isolation of the British Celtæ was at an end, and the rites and customs of the Romanized Britons had been modified or entirely displaced by those of their conquerors. Not only were the Teutonic races of the Continent effecting numerous settlements in the British Isles, and falling back on the more northern and purely Celtic tribes, who had been compelled to give way before the inroads of the Roman legions on their earlier scenes of colonization : but even where the Celtic population maintained its ground, we have abundant evidence that very extensive intercourse with the south was familiarizing it with the arts and civilisation of the continent of Europe. Such intercourse could not fail also to introduce many novel rites and

superstitions such as are still traceable in the folk-lore of the whole Teutonic races. Numerous independent proofs unite in confirmation of the fact of an entirely new era having taken the place of the early Bronze Period. The uses and relative values of the metals had obviously been finally adjusted. The Scottish bridle-bit shows the adaptation of the iron for use and the bronze for ornament; and this is even more apparent in the plated harness of the buried charioteer on the wolds of Yorkshire. All the evidence concurs in proving how great was the change that had taken place since the primitive metallurgist laboriously fashioned his weapons from the rare and costly copper or bronze, still supplying numerous deficiencies with implements of horn and stone. The variety, moreover, in the sepulchral deposits, and in the character of objects designed for the same purpose, is no less indicative of important changes superinduced on primitive arts, than are the various modes of sepulture suggestive of a diversity of national customs and creeds, or of the indifference and scepticism which are the forerunners of change. Everything betokens the close of the long Pagan era which we have followed down from that remote dawn of archæological annals in which we catch the first dim traces of the aboriginal Briton mingled among alluvial relics of strange animal life, to the commencement of authentic written history and inscriptions, preparatory to that new period of which our own century forms a part.

Here, strictly speaking, our Prehistoric Chronicles end. Already in striving to reduce them to consecutive order, we have been brought in contact with classic literature, and have derived some guidance from Roman historians. Nevertheless the data are still archæological; and few portions of early insular history are more dependent on the illustrations which monuments, works of art, and

the recovered traces of sepulchral rites supply, than that obscure, yet singularly interesting period which intervenes between the close of Roman influence and the era to which the earliest native literate monuments belong: when Pict, Scot, Norseman, and Saxon; St. Serf, St. Ninian, St. Columba, and St. Olaf; Jarl Sigurd, King Duncan, Thorfinn, Macbeth, and Malcolm Canmore; the gentle St. Magnus and the pious St. Margaret: mingle alike in legend, poetry, and the definite records of that transitional period when Scottish chronicles no longer exclusively pertain to unwritten history.

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PART IV. THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

"Tantum ergo sacramentum
Veneremur cernui,
Et antiquum documentum
Novo cedat ritui,
Præstet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui."
S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS
HYMNUS DE CORPORE CHRISTI.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL DATA.

By whatever course the earlier colonists of the British Isles reached our shores and diffused the first influences of the presence of man, as well as those succeeding evidences of his progress, the traces of which have been reviewed in the preceding sections, it is unquestionable that that latest and most important of all sources of change, the introduction of Christianity, took place by a very different route from that of the Straits of Dover. All the affinities indicated by the well-defined relics of native art point to a more intimate intercourse and community of customs and arts between the natives of Scotland and Ireland, than between those of the northern and southern parts of the island of Great Britain, taking as its natural intermediate boundary the Highlands of Northumberland and Cumberland. South of this the tribes belonged to the Cymric instead of the Gaelic stock, or partook of the characteristics of those of the neighbouring continent. They shared in the civilisation



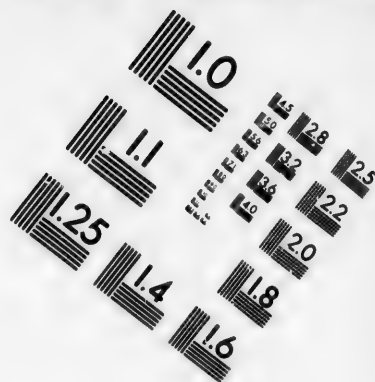
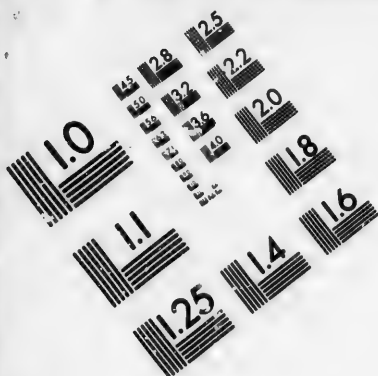
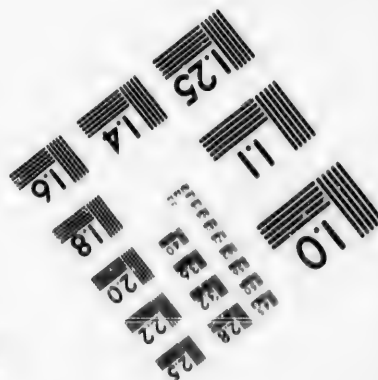
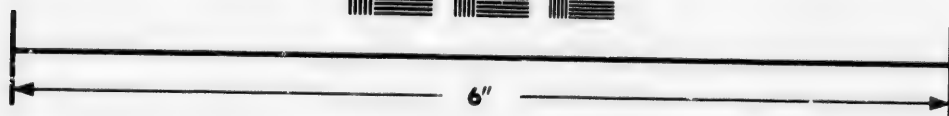
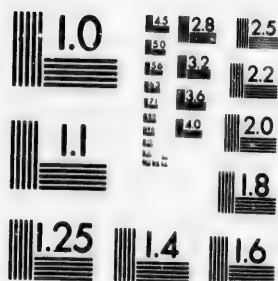


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of the north of Europe, held by its mythology, and were involved in its enslavement by the aggressive expansion of the overgrown Roman empire ; while the nations both of northern Albany and of Ireland were left to their wild independence. The geographical position of the British and Irish coasts sufficiently accounts for frequent intercourse between the natives of Scotland and Ireland from the earliest periods. While the narrowest part of St. George's Channel has a breadth of about sixty-five miles, the opposite coasts of the Mull of Cantyre and of Fair Head in the county of Antrim, are only fourteen miles apart. The remarkable historical Gaelic poem, generally termed the *ALBANIC DUAN*, completed in its present form in the reign of Malcolm Canmore about the middle of the eleventh century, but embodying genealogical chronicles of earlier periods, thus refers to the first peopling of Scotland, and the Irish origin of the northern Picts :—

“ Ye learned of all Albin,
Ye wise, yellow-haired race,
Who was the first, know you,
To acquire the districts of Albin ?

“ Albanus acquired them with his hosts,
The illustrious son of Isicon,
Brother to Britus, without treachery :
From him Albin of ships takes its name.

“ The Cruithne acquired it afterwards,
When they had come from the plains of Erin :
Seventy noble kings of them
Acquired the Cruithen plains.”

Of the history of the neighbouring island during the Anglo-Roman and Saxon centuries of England our knowledge is necessarily extremely imperfect. Without, however, entering upon controverted ground, it is sufficient for our present purpose to know that at the period of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland it was occupied

by the Hiberni, an ancient if not aboriginal Celtic race ; by the Cruithne, as the inhabitants of Ulster are called by the native annalists ; and also by the Scoti, a race who had then established themselves in Ireland, and secured a complete supremacy over the elder native population, apparently at no very distant date. Whence-soever this latter race was derived, we have evidence that, though considerably advanced in civilisation, their superiority appears to have been less in arts than in arms ; the traces of early artistic skill being generally ascribed to the older races who acknowledge their supremacy. So effectual was their superiority in arms, however, in effacing the nationality of more ancient tribes, that towards the close of the third century at the latest, the name of Scotia appears to have been generally applied to Ireland, and for nearly seven centuries continued to indicate the Hibernia of Latin writers.

Christianity had already gained some partial footing in Ireland prior to the apostolic mission of St. Patrick, who was consecrated for that purpose by Pope Celestine, A.D. 433. Both the parentage and country of the Irish apostle have been made the subject of recent controversy ; but the little village of Kilpatrick, on the north bank of the Clyde, between Glasgow and Dumbarton, lays claim to the honour of having given birth to the patron saint of Ireland ; in return for which the Scottish apostle, St. Columba, is acknowledged as of Irish origin. Though Ireland was not unknown to the Romans, no attempt appears to have been made to subject it to their sway ; and it was accordingly left to reap by indirect means the advantages of southern civilisation. This the introduction of the new religion most effectually promoted. Greek and Roman literature attracted the attention of the clergy in a way that produced far more direct and enduring results than any which flowed from

the intrusion of Roman civilisation and supremacy into the neighbouring island. A native literature was developed and fostered, arts sprung up, and architecture assumed a peculiar national character. From the middle of the fifth till nearly the close of the eighth century, Ireland was among the most civilized and prosperous of the nations of Europe, and wanted only a native Alfred or a Canmore to give the same unity to its independent tribes which St. Patrick had conferred on its ecclesiastical state.

During this prosperous era, in the beginning of the sixth century, if not at an earlier date,¹ a band of pioneers, under the leadership of MacEarc, a chieftain of the clan then in possession of part of the county Antrim,—the Irish Dalriada,—effected a settlement in the southern part of Argyleshire. There the little kingdom of the Scottish Dalriads was established by the descendants of Fergus Mor MacEarc; and in the reign, if not under favour of Conall, the sixth of the sovereigns of this petty kingdom, the monastery of Iona was established by St. Columba, in A.D. 563.² The origin and early condition of the Scottish Dalriads are involved in all the more confusion and obscurity, from the fact that it was only when the descendants of MacEarc had given a king to the Scottish throne that their early history acquired any interest. But the Irish traditions are thus embodied in the prefaces to the *Amhara*:—"The Dal Riada were those about whom there was a contention between the men of Alba and the men of Erin; because they were both of the race of Cairbre Righfada,

¹ Various authorities assign the middle of the third century as the date of migration of Cairbre Riada, the reputed eponymous of the Dalriads, with his followers.—Pinkerton, *Inquiry*, vol. ii. p. 61; O'Connor, *Dissert.* p. 297. The idea probably originates in the confusion of the later immigrants under Fergus MacEarc with older migrations of the Irish Cruithne.

² Reeves' *Notes, Life of St. Columba*, p. 434. Pref. lxxv.

that is, of the men of Munster. For, upon the occasion of a great famine which came upon Munster, the descendants of Cairbre Ríghfada left it; and one party of them went to Alba, and the other party stayed in Erin, from whom are the Dalriada at this day."¹ The tradition is not unlike that by which the native historians of Italy accounted for the migration of the Tyrseni from Lydia in prehistoric times. According to the traditions of the eighth century, when the venerable Bede wrote, the Scottish colonists called themselves Dalriads (*Dalreudini*), and their adopted country Dalriada, from a combination of the term *dual*, signifying a part, with the name of *Reuda*, their leader. But Dal is of common occurrence, affixed to the patronymic of Irish families or races in the bardic genealogies, as in the Dal n' Araidhe, of the race of Ir King of Ulster, in the third century; and the Dal Cuire, descendants of Core Mac Lughach, Prince of Munster, the reputed ancestor of the Scottish Stewards. The epoch of the leader of the Dalriads is assigned by some of the annalists to a date as early as that of Ir of Ulster; and both Gildas and Nennius associate the Scots with the Picts in the barbarian aggressions on the Romanized Britons of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed it is most probable that the Scotie invaders first learned the way to their later home by joining its older occupants in those marauding invasions. Among such precursors the prominent place is occupied by the Cruithne and Piccardach, or Northern and Southern Picts, who long occupied a dubious position among the mythic precursors of definite history, and still retain a place in Scottish folk-lore as a half-fabulous race of dwarfs, the builders of the Round Towers and other structures of undefined antiquity.

The Picts have been successively derived from nearly

¹ *L. abhar na h Uidhre*, fol. 8; Reeves' *St. Columba*, p. 92, note.

every race known to have contributed to the population of the British Islands; and the fierceness with which their Celtic or Gothic origin was debated by Ritson, Pinkerton, and other controversialists of a past generation, furnished to Sir Walter Scott some of the most piquant scenes in his *Antiquary*. But their Irish affinities appear to be no less certain than those of the Scots; and their presence in Scotland altogether prior to the earliest invasions of the Northmen, from whom it was the fashion for a time to derive them, is indisputable. The fact that the North of Scotland was styled *Pétland*, i.e., Picts' Land, by the Norsemen, when occupied by a Gaelic population with proper and local names equally Celtic, sufficiently refutes any idea of a Scandinavian origin. Moreover the name *Picti*, Anglo-Saxon *Pihtas* or *Peohtas*, Norse *Pettar*, seems in itself irreconcilable with any theory of a Germanic origin; for Indo-German scholars are agreed in rejecting words beginning with *p* from among the roots of any genuine Teutonic dialect; whereas in the Celtic dialects the initial *p* is highly characteristic. The oldest Sagas indicate that the Norsemen learned from the natives the name which they rendered *Pettlandsfjörth*, i.e., *fretum Pictorum*; and the Panmure Codex expressly says that the Orkneys were formerly called *terra Petorum*. The range of the Pentland Hills around the southern and western outskirts of the later Scottish capital, marks with equally enduring tenacity the extended hold which the Picts had established on Northern territory. But the *nec falso nomine Picti* of Claudian seems to receive curious confirmation from the significance traced, according to the Hon. Algernon Herbert, in the name or title, *Bruide*, borne by many kings of the Gwyddyl Ffiehti, derived from the implement with which the skin was punctured to receive the characteristic adornment of the Pagan

Pict.¹ Another derivation has been sought in the Welsh *peith*, to scream, to fight, whence *picta*, fighting men; but whencesoever the name is derived, the affinities in race and language between the Scottish and Irish Cruithne is indisputable; and the migration of the latter to Scotland is rarely dated by the most careful Irish students earlier than the third century of the Christian era. But long before that period North Britain had its native Celtic population; and the intermixture of the • Welsh *aber*, and Erse *inver*, as well as the occurrence of a few other Cymric names in Scottish topography, have been ingeniously employed to mark the extent of British occupancy of Gaelic districts as far north as the Moray Firth.² But the traces of the Gael are not less abundant in Wales; and the northern area of the latter,—remotest from the continent,—their retention of Alban, Albion, apparently the older Celtic name of Britain; and their aspect from the earliest historic period as the occupants of a diminishing area encroached upon by younger races: all combine to suggest that the Gael preceded the other Celtic tribes of Britain in the occupation of their common insular home. We learn, on the authority of Bede, that, in the earlier part of the eighth century (A.D. 730), five written languages existed, viz., the English, the British, the Scottish, the Pictish, and the Latin. Of those the first four, *i.e.*, the languages of the Angles, the Welsh, the Gaels, and the Picts, were still spoken in his day; and although of the last of them, only some half dozen words can be determined, these suffice to indicate the British affinities of the Picts, and to suggest for them an aboriginal character as native precursors of the Scots, Dalriads, or other Erse colonists.

¹ *Irish Nennius*, Notes by Hon. Algernon Herbert, p. 45.

² Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 4. A. H. Rhind, *Proceed. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. i. p. 182.

To the older evidence of the British affinities of the Pictish language, additional proofs appear to accrue from the study of the St. Vigean's inscription, hereafter referred to. But whatever be determined as to the relative age of the ancient races of Britain, the idea of their primeval occupancy of the land is of modern growth. The Athenians decorated their hair with grasshoppers in token that they were the children of the soil; the Onondagas and Senecas of the New World preserved a similar legend that they sprung from the ground on the banks of their favourite streams; and the same fond idea has been cherished by many nations. But Cymric, Gaelic, and Erse traditions concur in tracing the origin of the races beyond their later insular home; and though in more recent times the Cymri of Wales have cherished the claim of aborigines, even they preserve obscure traditions of an older race whom they drove out or enslaved.¹ On the supposition that the Gael preceded the Cymri, we must assume the later Erse migrations into Scotland as, in part at least, the ebb of an older flood-tide, when the Scottish Gael, pressed on by later southern intruders, overflowed into the neighbouring island where no trace of Cymric invasion is discernible, though the affinities between them and the Celtic races of the Continent are so obvious. But also it is impossible wholly to overlook the many vague but persistent bardic traditions and later chronicles, which concur in assigning an Iberian origin for that part of the population of Ireland, which in the sixth, or some earlier century contributed to Scotland its eponymic race.

If bardic legend and monkish chronicle could be implicitly followed, it would be easy to carry back the history of Briton, Gael, and Scot, to the days of Gaedhal, son of Eathor, and other mythic contemporaries of the

¹ *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, p. 49.

first postdiluvian generations ; but while some of their allusions are suggestive of obscure traditionary truths, the fabulous character of the chronicles as a whole is sufficiently transparent. When we turn to the oft-disputed questions relative to the Scottish Picts, however, they assume a different character ; for, obscure though they are, they deal with changes scarcely older than those of the Anglo-Saxon intrusions into England, and like them lie at the foundation of all definite national history. Hence, in part, the acrimony as well as the learning expended on them ; for their proper understanding involves the consistent resolution of that period, of no slight importance in Scottish history, intervening between the year 296 of our present era, when the first mention of the Scottish Picti occurs,¹ and the final intrusion of the Saxon race in the eleventh century into the kingdom of the Picts. But the Anglian followers of Ida had long preceded the Saxons in the occupation of the country to the south of the Forth ; and though the British recovered that region for a time, when Ida fell by the dagger of "Llovan of the accursed hand ;" it is probable that even at that early date the Lothians received their first permanent infusion of Teutonic blood. But the period is necessarily one of great obscurity ; though the critical researches of recent writers, and especially the consistent narrative of Skene, in his able work on the Highlands of Scotland, have helped to rescue this portion of Scottish history from the confusion and mystery to which monkish legends and modern controversy had consigned it. During the earlier portion of the era which intervenes between the final retreat of the Romans and the accession of Malcolm Canmore, we find North Britain divided into the kingdoms of the Picts and the Dalriads. Of the Irish derivation of the latter there is no doubt ;

¹ Eumenius, Ritson's *Caledonians*, vol. i. p. 71.

but Scottish antiquaries and historians long sought in vain for any clue either to the intrusion or extrusion of a Pictish race, distinct from the old Celtic population. By some they have been supposed to have been utterly eradicated by successive invaders, or to have gradually disappeared as a distinct race by intermingling with their supplanters. Others considered the Northern and Southern Picts two distinct races, of which the latter alone were exterminated or driven from the soil by successive invasions of the Lowlands, while the former maintained their ground within the region still possessed by their descendants, the Scottish Highlanders. The weight of evidence, however, and the inferences suggested by coincidences of ancient topographical nomenclature throughout Scotland, with that of Wales on the one hand, and Ireland on the other, leave no room to doubt that the Picts were none other than the original population common in part both to Scotland and Ireland, and also to Scotland and Wales. Ptolemy gives the names of thirteen Caledonian tribes; in some editions of the old geographer the number is extended to seventeen; and to these the questionable authority of Richard of Cirencester adds at least four more. In all probability the greater number of those existed as independent and frequently rival tribes, up to the period of Roman invasion, when some of them were for the first time united under one chief against the legions of Agricola. The immense host, however, which Galgacus brought into the field, shows that Scotland was then no savage or thinly-peopled country, while their war-chariots, their shields, huge iron swords, and other effective accoutrements, have already been referred to in evidence of progress in the useful arts. This union against a common enemy, resumed as it was from time to time, throughout the whole period of Roman occupation, was perhaps the

most important of all the fruits which Scotland reaped from the intrusion of the civilized Romans ; and to it we may probably ascribe the first permanent coalition of independent tribes, and the consequent establishment of a Pictish kingdom, the limits of which were to a great extent determined by the natural features of the country. The Picts spoke one or more dialects of the same Celtic language still common to Erse and Gael ; and to which the philologist still turns for explanation of the more ancient names of Lowland as well as Highland localities. The native Galwegian tribes there are reasons—imperfect undoubtedly, yet seemingly indisputable,—for believing, spoke a dialect of the Cymric or British, once common apparently both to Northern and Southern Britain. In Welsh Triads, however, which are believed to be fully as old as the sixth century, the Picts are uniformly designated, without distinction, as the *Gwyddyl Ifichti*, that is the Gaelic Picts ; and Bede, in enumerating the different languages in which the gospel was taught in Britain, speaks of the *lingua Pictorum* as one tongue, though elsewhere some confusion arises from his seeming to make a distinction between Northern and Southern Picts. The true Southern Picts appear to have been a colony of the Irish Piccardach, who migrated into Galloway, probably later than the eighth century. But both were undoubtedly Celtic. Even Ritson, while fiercely opposing the idea of any community of origin between the Caledonian Britons and the Picts, admits that the language of the latter was a Celtic idiom.¹ The Scottish Picts were in fact the descendants of the only primitive Scottish race of which we possess any authentic historical evidence : the Albiones of Festus Avienus ; the race of Albanus of the *Albanic Duan* ; the Albanich of Welsh and native writers ; and the most numerous

¹ Ritson's *Caledonians*, vol. i. p. 120.

and powerful representatives of a people which we have reason to believe continued to occupy the British Islands from a period, the commencement of which we must seek in those dim unchronicled centuries we have already attempted to explore, down to perhaps the fourth century B.C. Then indications sufficiently vague, yet suggestive, seem to point to an intrusion of Continental races, under the influence probably of the same impulse which led the encroaching Gauls to the south of the Alps, and the Belgic tribes to the west of the Rhine; and which was ultimately followed by the permanent Anglo-Saxon colonizations of Britain. Yet the lapse of so many centuries has not sufficed to efface the ancient characteristics by which we still recognise the common ethnical relations of the Cornish, Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish Celtæ.

Of six modern Celtic dialects still recognised in Europe, four belong to the British Isles. A fifth, the Cornish, now extinct, also pertained to the same insular home of the *Κέλται*, while the only remaining one, the Armorican, is the dialect of Brittany, a country intimately associated in the history of early colonizations with Britain. The Celtic languages of modern Europe are divided primarily into two groups, each composed of three separate idioms:—I. *The Gallic or British*: 1. Cymric or Welsh; 2. Cornish; 3. Armorican. II. *The Gaelic or Erse*: 1. Fenic or Irish; 2. Gaelic; 3. Manx.

But this classification of languages, it is apparent, only partially represents the races of Celtic Britain; and to those of Scotland have especially to be added the strangers already referred to, who—whatever their original language may have been,—under the name subsequently transferred to the land of their latest adoption, acquired a footing there, and materially contributed to fashion its history for some centuries. Their first appearance seems to have been as allies against the com-

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mon southern foe ; and probably before the Roman provinces had been finally abandoned, the Irish Scots were immigrating in such numbers into the later home which now bears their name, that the peninsulas of Argyleshire and the neighbouring isles already acknowledged them as the predominant race. The great valley of Loch Ness, and the whole country bounded between the Breadalbane range, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Firth of Clyde, with the neighbouring islands, appear to have been gradually occupied by the intruders from the more ancient land of the Scots. They brought with them, we may presume, some of the early civilisation peculiar to the Island of Iern : perhaps the Ogham writing, which is common to both countries, and the predominant Erse dialect still intelligible to Scottish and Irish Gael ; while the Cymric tongue lives only in the ineradicable traces remaining in the topographical nomenclature of the country. When Bede wrote, in the eighth century, the boundaries of the Scotie kingdom were well defined. The aggressive intruders appear to have been quiescent at that period, and perhaps for fully a century thereafter, during which intimate relations were maintained with Ireland. The comparative insulation of the region was well adapted for nursing the young strength of the eponymic colonists ; and obscure as this early period of their history is, we may be tempted to assign to it, with great probability, some at least of the traces of ancient population, matured arts, and extensive cultivation of the soil, already referred to among the memorials of former occupation of many long-deserted wilds. In so far as written chronicles throw any light on this period, a close intercourse appears to have been continued between the Scots and their Irish progenitors ; and whatever history of the Dalriadic kingdom can be recovered is still chiefly

derivable from Irish annalists. From these we are led to conclude that the number and influence of the Scots had gradually increased, while the Picts were weakened by internal jealousies. Nevertheless, their position was frequently precarious, and for nearly three centuries they owed their safety fully as much to the natural isolation of their little kingdom, as to the dissensions of the Picts. Aedhan MacGabhran, the seventh king of Dalriada, who died in 606, was the first among them to establish their rule independent of their Irish congeners. His wife appears to have been a Strathclyde Briton,¹ and the union is suggestive of a close alliance with that people. But the little Dalriadic kingdom underwent many vicissitudes. The race of MacGabhran experienced repeated reverses, until the death of Maelduin, fourteenth king of Dalriada, in 689, when by a revolution, of which the results are only partially clear to us, the sceptre was transferred to Ferchar Fada, the lineal representative of the younger line of Loarn Mohr. From this line some of the most powerful thanes and clans of Scotland trace their descent, among which the most famous is the usurping Macbeth. But the supremacy reverted to the elder line. The genealogy of Kenneth MacAlpin is traced from Aedhan MacGabhran; and thenceforth the descent is undisputed, until the abrupt close of the Celtic line of kings on the death of Alexander III. Meanwhile Angle, Strathclyde Briton, and Pict, watched every opportunity to profit by Dalriadic dissensions; until the total overthrow of the Angles, under Egfrid, at the battle of Nectan's Mere, beyond the Tay, in 685, which determined the peaceful interfusion of Saxon and Gael at a later period in the northern kingdom. But it was not till nearly half a century thereafter that a contest appears to have arisen for the Pictish throne,

¹ Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, p. 436.

whereby the co-operation and alliance of the Dalriads became objects of consideration to these neighbouring rivals ; and we learn of a union between the Scots and the Picts, entered upon in the year 731, for the purpose of supplanting Angus MacFergus, who then occupied the Pictish throne. At first, the Scots and their allies were completely worsted, and for upwards of eighty years the larger portion of the kingdom of Dalriada appears to have been subjected to Pictish rule. The Irish Scoti, however, continued to maintain a close intercourse with their Dalriadic descendants, and made common cause with them ; and indeed almost the only evidence we now possess of the wars then waged between Scots and Picts, is the records in the Irish annals of the death of their native kings and chiefs, slain in Albany when fighting with their Dalriadic kindred. But for this aid, it is difficult to conceive how the Dalriads could have held their ground within the small territory they occupied, notwithstanding all the tact with which they availed themselves of jealousies and rivalry existing between northern and southern tribes. The struggle between the Dalriads and Picts appears to have assumed latterly in some degree the character of a war of succession. There is reason, however, to believe, from several of the names of Dalriadic kings, that they repeatedly effected alliances with the Picts by intermarriage ; so that, owing to the peculiar Celtic ideas of succession, the Dalriads may have thus acquired a claim to the Pictish throne. There appears, however, not only to have existed lines of hereditary sovereigns, succeeding according to the peculiar Pictish laws of succession to the supreme rule ; but also a hereditary *nobile genus*, or patrician class, holding as tenaciously by the purity of their blood and lineage, as under the most stringent rule of the Lyon King-at-Arms of a later age. Much obscurity necessarily rests on this

period of our national history. Partially and at intervals we discover glimpses of the struggle then going on ; amid which, however, increasing evidences suffice to show that fortune favoured the Dalriadic Scots, until in the year 843 the whole of Scotland is found united under the sceptre of Kenneth MacAlpin, originally sovereign of the little kingdom of Dalriada, who transferred the seat of government from Argyle to the eastern side of the extended kingdom ; and the sacred asylum of the family of Iona, which had already been removed for greater safety first to Abernethy, and then to Dunkeld, was reinstated on the latter site, with such architectural magnificence as the Pictish arts of that age could supply. Thenceforth the names of Pict and Cruithne disappear as national distinctions, and Albanich becomes the Scottish nation.

Within the period marked by the changes thus briefly glanced at, is included that remarkable epoch known as the Scottish Conquest. It has naturally formed the subject of much investigation, and of still more debate. Earlier historians, shaping out the supposed results in accordance with the term conquest, have attributed to Kenneth the total extermination of the Piccardach, or Southern Picts. One consequence of this has been that later and more careful writers, seeking in vain for any evidence of so complete a revolution, have been inclined to pronounce the whole a fable. But the well-defined lines of demarcation so long maintained among diverse branches of the population, at length united under one common sovereignty, are calculated to suggest the idea of an admixture of alien blood in the Celtic population of the British Isles. If, as has been already assumed, not without some evidence, the Celts of Britain are not in any true sense aboriginal : though apparently the oldest among the Aryan races : it is not unreasonable to

assume in the dark complexion, and short, crisp hair which attracted the attention of Tacitus in the Silures, and are still recognisable as characteristic features in certain rural districts of Ireland and Wales, the traces of Turanian or other foreign blood. The Scoti appear in the remotest allusions of bardic tradition as an aggressive race, entering Ireland from the south, and gradually subduing the native races by craft and valour ; as at a subsequent date they established a like supremacy in their later home. The traditions of their Spanish origin have already been referred to ; and as the facilities for maritime migration are held to favour the probability of the Iberian descent conjecturally inferred by Tacitus for the Silures,¹ the geographical proximity of Spain to the south of Ireland still more strongly favours a theory interwoven with all the traditions of the race. It is vain to analyse minutely this obscure tradition, overlaid as it has been by bardic extravagance and monkish fable ; but it is not necessary to assume a period lying altogether beyond the limits of authentic European history for such an intrusion of a foreign race, when we remember how modern are the dates of Saxon, Danish, and Norman occupation of English soil. Such satisfactory evidence of language as any Eusearian traces in the Erse vocabulary, or in personal or local names, would supply, has indeed hitherto eluded research ; but the more recent history of Rollo and his Northmen shows how speedily an aggressive minority may become amalgamated in speech with the conquered race. Any attempt to reconcile legend and history must be entirely conjectural ; but there are not wanting in European history indications of when such a migration was probable. The Phœnician colonists of Spain first taught the way to Britain, and doubtless to Ireland also ; but without

¹ "Historical Ethnology of Britain ;" *Cyania Britannica*, ch. v. p. 58.

going back to periods so remote as those of the first voyagers to the Cassiterides, the later history of the Iberian peninsula furnishes others, more within reach of authentic tradition, when migration was enforced by Carthaginian and Roman aggression. In the year B.C. 218, the second and fiercest struggle between the rival republics of Carthage and Rome was commenced by Hannibal taking Saguntum, a town on the eastern coast of Spain. The Peninsula then became the theatre of a war, afterwards carried by Hannibal into Italy, which was not concluded till B.C. 202, when Spain was added to the growing empire of the Italian Republic. But the Iberians did not willingly bow to the yoke. One of the bloodiest of all the Roman wars commenced in Spain B.C. 153, and did not finally terminate for twenty years, during which cities were razed to the ground, multitudes massacred or made slaves, and the triumphant arms of Rome borne to the Atlantic shores. Here, therefore, is an epoch in the history of the Spanish peninsula where Celt and Iberian had already mingled, which seems reconcilable with the traditions of such an origin for the Scoti, and the probable period of their arrival in Ireland. Mere possible coincidences are not, of course, to be accepted as proof; but in the absence of all direct evidence, such a hypothesis may be deserving of attention, in attempting to reduce to a consistent narrative the traditions of that remarkable race which appears to have acquired a footing in Ireland, and partially displaced its older occupants, before the Roman invasion of Britain. On such a theory we may assume the Iberian immigrants to have played a part analogous to that of the Danes in Normandy, or the Normans in England. Sharers in the ancient civilisation pertaining to the earliest scenes of Phœnician colonization and Punic commerce, yet few in numbers compared with the native population: the in-

truding conquerors would of necessity adopt in a few generations the native language, and intermingle their blood with that of the native stock ; so that long before the Dalriadic conquest all traces of a foreign origin had been lost sight of. Assuming therefore essential affinities in language and manners between the immigrant Scoti and the native Gael, we can readily understand how such a race, seeking the shores of Argyre originally rather as friendly refugees than as invaders, might gradually acquire a footing there ; and after a time establish their supremacy over native races weakened by division, and inferior to them in the arts of war. Such a superior race was well fitted to furnish the later colonists and chiefs of Albin, and to effect the cautious and politic alliances in which lay some of the most important elements of that remarkable revolution of the ninth century known as the Scottish Conquest. But amid the obscurities of this period of our national history we grope our way in the dark ; and if—acknowledging so much of this to be mere hypothesis,—we suppose, on the other hand, the Cymri to have entered the British Isles by the English Channel, while both Gael and Erse came by the Atlantic to Ireland, and thence to Scotland : displacing in the latter country northern Cymric tribes who had preceded them there, and even intruding for a time into Wales : we have a theory sufficiently consistent with the remote philological relations traceable between Cymri and Gael, and with the close dialectic affinities between Celtic Scotland and Ireland.

The relations subsisting between the various divisions of the Celtic family are of more importance in reference to the early history of the British Islands, and especially of Scotland, than the later Teutonic migrations. There are, first, the two great subdivisions, coincident perhaps with different routes by which the Celtæ migrated from

Asia to the north-west of Europe ; and secondly, there are the minor subdivisions—of greater significance in their bearing on the present inquiry,—resulting from successive arrivals in this country of offshoots from both the great streams of migration, modified by previous sojourn in different countries of Europe, and probably also by intermingling with foreign races. Thus, the Celtic nations into which Scotland was divided, are frequently designated by the Welsh chroniclers the *Gwyddyl duon* and the *Gwyddyl gwyn*, or *black* and *fair Gaels*. Perhaps the term *Du-Caledones* (*Di-Caledones*), by which the Romans distinguished the Northern from the *Vecturiones* or Southern Picts, is only a combination of the Celtic *du* or *dubh*, black, with the generic name adopted by them. The Scots are distinguished from both, in the Welsh Triads, under the name of the *Gwyddyl coch* or *Red Gaels*. It is to be noted, however, in reference to the former appellations, that both Scots and Irish were wont to apply to the Scandinavian invaders the names of *Fion-Ghaill* and *Dubh-Ghaill*, the white and the black strangers,—terms derived not from their complexion but their costume ; and the Hon. Algernon Herbert has discussed with ingenious learning the probability of many of the Irish national designations having had their origin in practices of personal decoration similar to that which is believed to be commemorated in the name of the Picts.¹

The presence of Cruithne as well as Scoti in Ireland, contemporary with the Scottish Cruithne ; and the correspondence between the gold and bronze relics, as well as many of the older architectural and monumental antiquities of Scotland and Ireland : all point to a close intercourse maintained between the two countries at an early period ; while the remarkable historical poem, the *Albanic*

¹ Irish version of *Nennius*, Note xvii.

Duan, already quoted, as well as other bardic traditions, assign to the Cruithne of Scotland an Irish origin. Under such circumstances, the occupation of Argyle by a Scotie colony, speaking a dialect of the same language as the native Picts, would be too unimportant a change to excite notice beyond the limits of the Western Highlands. The tribes whose borders were encroached upon would settle their disputes according to the summary diplomacy of primitive courts; and that done, intercourse, alliances, and intermarriages would follow as naturally between Scots and Picts as between Piccardach and Cruithne. So, in like manner, when the Scots, in alliance with a native party, conquered the Picts, it was merely transferring the supremacy to a more powerful branch of the same ethnical stock. Whatever differences originally separated them had become nearly effaced; and there existed few of the causes for lasting feud which occur in the struggle for power between rival races, such as the Moors and Goths of Spain, or the Norman English and the Irish. The struggle in England between the Normans and Saxons owed its chief elements of bitterness to other causes, as is proved by the readiness with which the two races intermingled when they met on common ground and on an equal footing in the Scottish Lowlands, under Malcolm Canmore. Aided by the summary processes adopted in rude periods for getting quit of the elements of a disputed regal succession, the lapse of a single generation would suffice to obliterate the animosities between Scot and Pict, and to establish the former in undisputed possession of such supremacy as the Normans had to maintain for generations in England, at the point of the sword. Perhaps it formed another element of interfusion among the various Celtic races, that the supremacy of the Scoti was chiefly as warriors. The older native race is always referred to by the Irish bards as superior in the

knowledge of the arts : a fact perhaps to be accounted for on the presumption of the arrival of the former in Ireland as refugees, after a protracted strife extending over more than one generation, during which the refined arts and luxuries of civilisation disappear in the struggle for existence.

But though the earliest notices seem to refer to the Scoti as inferior in arts to the native Irish, it is still possible that Ireland may owe to them the introduction from southern seats of European civilisation of some useful and ornamental arts, traces of which are so abundant throughout the island. It is, however, chiefly to their superiority in arms that we must ascribe the singular occurrence of the conquerors transferring their own name to the whole race and country subject to their later rule.

Such is a hasty glance at events pertaining to the civil history of Scotland during the first centuries of the Christian era, with an attempt to account for some of the changes that have heretofore seemed most difficult to reconcile with ascertained facts. But other and no less remarkable changes were, meanwhile, being wrought on the native tribes of Caledonia. The legionaries of Rome had in vain attempted to penetrate into their fastnesses ; but other Roman missionaries of civilisation followed with more success. Towards the latter end of the fourth century, a youth, the son of a British Prince of Cumberland, visited Rome during the Pontificate of Damasus, elected Bishop of Rome A.D. 366. Nynias, or Ninian, remained there till the succession of Siricius to the Popedom, A.D. 384, who, according to Bede, finding the young Briton trained in the faith and mysteries of the truth, ordained him, and sent him as a Christian missionary to preach the faith to the heathen tribes of North Britain. This is the celebrated British Bishop St. Ninian,

or St. Ringan, as he is more frequently styled in Scotland, where numerous churches, chapels, holy wells, as also caves and other noted localities, bear his name. Arriving in Britain towards the close of the fourth century, he established the chief seat of his mission at Whithern, in Wigtonshire, a prominent headland of the old province of Galloway, where he erected the celebrated *Candida Casa*, according to Bede, "a church of stone, built in a manner unusual among the Britons."¹ The fact is sufficient to disprove the assumption of both Scottish and Irish antiquaries, prior to Dr. Petrie, that the earliest British churches were constructed of wattles. The remains of Roman buildings in Scotland show that the Britons of the fourth century had not then to learn, for the first time, the art of masonry, though the facilities offered by a thickly-wooded country frequently led the first Christian missionaries to employ its oak and plaited reeds in the construction of their chapels and cells; as in our own British colonies the new church of the clearing is invariably constructed of logs or deals. We are told by Bede that the first church of Lindisfarne was built by St. Finan, *more Scotorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto et arundine*. The brethren of Iona, too, as Adamnan incidentally mentions, were challenged by the proprietor, from whose lands they had gathered stakes and wands for the repair of their dwellings. Yet notable as the cathedral church of Whithern doubtless was, we can have little hesitation in picturing it to our minds as a sufficiently humble structure, though distinguished among contemporary edifices, and dear to us in no ordinary degree, as the first British temple consecrated to the rites of the true faith. The *Candida Casa*, or white-walled cathedral of Whithern, though dedicated originally to St. Martin,² became the shrine of the Scottish apostle

¹ Bede, l. 3, c. 4.

² *Vita Niniana*, Ritson, vol. ii. p. 144.

St. Ninian, and the resort of many a royal and noble pilgrim, down even to the Reformation; but it would be vain now to look for any relics of this most interesting structure on the bold headland of Galloway, though the fragments of a later ruined chancel still mark the site of St. Ringan's famous shrine.

The death of the primitive Scottish Bishop St. Ninian took place A.D. 432. According to the accepted biography of St. Patrick, it was in the following year that Pope Celestine consecrated him a Bishop, and sent him on his mission to Ireland. But the labours of the Scottish missionary had not been in vain. "The brethren of St. Ninian at Whithern" became the centre of an important movement, influencing a large and rapidly increasing sphere, and from their labours there is reason to believe that both England and Ireland received some of the first impressions towards that great movement which ultimately included the British Isles within the ecclesiastical unity of Papal Christendom. It furnishes no inconclusive evidence of the progress of the new faith in the British Isles, that St. Palladius was sent from Rome to the Christian Scots, in the fifth century, A.D. 431, for the purpose of uprooting the Pelagian heresy. His chief mission was to Ireland, where the Scots were still settled, but he also cared for the converts of the neighbouring isle, then connected with Ireland both by frequent intercourse and by affinity of races. He personally visited the Christian Picts of North Britain, and despatched his disciple St. Servanus, or St. Serf, as he is more usually styled, to the Northern Islands, for the purpose of preaching the true faith to the natives of Orkney and Shetland. That he also was successful, many local names and traditions, and even some ecclesiastical relics, hereafter referred to, suffice to prove; and thus we arrive at the important fact, that Christianity had already established a firm

footing, both on the Scottish mainland and in the isles, long before we have any evidence of the presence of the Scandinavians, even as roving marauders, on our coasts.

The value of this will be apparent, as showing the necessity which authentic history imposes upon us of referring to a period long anterior to the intrusion of the earliest Scandinavian colonists into Scotland, the erection of the megalithic structures, memorial cairns, and other primitive monuments, which fanciful theorists have assigned, without evidence, to such foreign builders. It is uncertain how long St. Palladius was in Scotland, but his last days were spent there, and he died among his Cruithnean converts at Fordun, in *Mag-girgin*, or the Mearns. We find good evidence that the influence of his preaching was not evanescent. Before the end of the fifth century churches had been founded, and brotherhoods of priests established, both in the islands and on the mainland; and Bede relates that, in the beginning of the eighth century, while yet the Dalriadic Scots remained within the narrow limits of their first possessions in the Western Highlands, the Pictish king sent to his own monastery of Jarrow, craving that builders might be commissioned to construct for him a church of stone after the Roman manner. From this we are led to infer that the "mos Scotorum" referred to by Bede, of building both houses and churches of timber and wattles, was also the "mos Pictorum" of the same period; but Dr. Petrie has already conclusively established the fact, that this custom prevailed only to a very limited extent in Ireland, and contemporarily with the erection of religious structures of so substantial a nature, that characteristic examples of them still remain in sufficient preservation to show perfectly what they had been in their original state. It is, indeed, from Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* that Dr. Petrie produces the earliest his-

torical authority which satisfactorily proves the erection of a round tower in the sixth century.¹ Such primitive ecclesiastical structures are rare, indeed, in Scotland ; and we search in vain for the stone churches which Boniface and other Italian builders, sent at King Nectan's desire, are said to have built at Invergowrie, Tealing, and Restennet in Angus, at Rosemarkie in Ross, as well as in other parts of the kingdom of the Northern Picts. Yet it will be hereafter seen that we are not without some evidence of the character of primitive Scottish churches "built after the Roman manner."

Besides the primitive Christian missionaries referred to as bringing tidings of the new faith to Scotland, St. Rule, St. Adrian, St. Woloc, St. Kieran, and St. Kentigern, must each be noted as sharing in the good work. But the religious establishment which ST. COLUMBA founded at Iona, in the middle of the sixth century, is justly regarded as the true centre of all the most sacred and heart-stirring associations connected with the establishment of Christianity in Scotland. "That illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions," still awakens feelings in the mind of every thoughtful visitor, such as no other Scottish locality can give birth to, unless a Scotsman may be pardoned if he associate with it, not "the plain of Marathon," but the field of Bannockburn.² We look in vain for any natural features in this remarkable island to account for its selection as the centre of primitive Christian missions in Britain. It is only about two and a half miles in length, and one in breadth. The waves of the Atlantic dash, with almost unceasing roar, against the rugged granite cliffs which guard its southern and western coasts ; and but for the memory of its sacred historical associations, and

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 387.

² *Vide* Cr. Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*.

of its ancient magnificence which has utterly passed away, there is nothing about the little island, placed far amid the melancholy main, that could now tempt the most curious traveller to approach its shores. St. Kieran, a favourite Celtic saint, was the precursor of St. Columba, and even it is said his instructor in the faith. He came from Ireland in 503, with the three sons of Erc, celebrated in the *Albanic Duan*,—

“The sons of Erc, son of Eathach the valiant,
The three who obtained the blessing of Saint Patrick.”

The cave of St. Kieran is still shown, in Kintyre, where the first Christian teacher of the Western Highlands is believed to have made his abode. If the dates of this remote era may be relied on, it was not till upwards of half a century after the arrival of St. Kieran, that the great Apostle of Scotland landed on its shores. The simple record of Bede is :—“Anno DLXV. Columba presbyter de Scotia venit Britanniam ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii monasterium fecit.” The isolation of that little island may perhaps be thought to have proved an attraction to Colum M’Felim M’Fergus, when he abandoned Ireland in his rude *currach*, or boat of hides, and sought an asylum among the Scottish Picts. But old Celtic traditions seem rather to indicate, that in the true missionary spirit he bearded the ancient faith in its stronghold, and reared the primitive Christian fane of Iona, where of old the Pagan circle had stood. The name of Hy, or I, by which the sacred isle is most generally known, signifies emphatically THE ISLAND. It is also familiar to us as Ii-Colum-cille; but the Highlanders, to the present day, frequently apply to it the name of *Innis nan Druidheanach*, or the Island of the Druids. The first structure reared by St. Columba and his followers on Iona, was doubtless as humble as the little *currach* by which they had reached its shores. One

curious passage, already referred to, speaks of the Abbot as sending forth his monks to gather bundles of twigs with which to build their hospice. The little chapel of St. Oran, the first follower of St. Columba who found a grave in the sacred soil, still exists, and has been frequently described as a work of the sixth century, but the experienced ecclesiologist will feel little hesitation in dating it fully five centuries later. It is not, indeed, at such spots as Whithorn or Iona that we are to look for the existence of primitive structures. Even had not the brethren of Iona been repeatedly subjected to the ravages of the fierce Pagan Norsemen: the veneration which made that island the favourite resort of pilgrims for many centuries, was little likely to permit the first homely fane to continue, when the re-edifying of churches and monasteries, on a larger and more magnificent scale, was one of the readiest exponents of the piety or contrition which the Church inculcated on its disciples. Examples of the primitive Scottish churches must be sought for in localities less favoured by the fidelity of medieval piety or superstition.

Christianity we thus perceive was established in Scotland at an early period, altogether apart from any contemporary intercourse which England may have maintained more directly with the converts of the neighbouring continent. Several important centres were fixed at various points, including the extreme south-west of Scotland, the remote northern, and the western isles. From those the faith rapidly radiated to the whole surrounding regions, and was even carried by the youthful zeal of its new converts to distant shores. The Icelandic Sagas furnish proof of the conversion of the natives of North Britain and Ireland long prior to Scandinavia, and of the direct influence which they exercised in the Christianizing of the north. When Norsemen first

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visited Iceland in the latter half of the ninth century, it was uninhabited, but they discovered traces of the former presence of Irish monks, and found their books, crosiers, and bells. This account, derived from the Sagas, receives independent confirmation from the narrative of Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, who states that monks from Ireland had resided in Iceland for six months, and also visited the Faroe Islands, and found them uninhabited.¹ There also existed in ancient times a church in Iceland dedicated to St. Columba, and a native Icelfander is described as having been educated by an abbot named Patrick, in the Western Isles of Scotland or Ireland. We likewise find in the names of the northern Scottish Islands, and in the traces of the dedications of their earliest churches, ample confirmation of their inhabitants having been Christianized prior to any Scandinavian settlement. The islands of North and South Ronaldshay are now distinguished by their relative positions, but their ancient names are *Rinansey* and *Rögnvalsey*. Professor Munch, of Christiania, adds in a letter referring to this subject,—“I have no doubt that the name of the island, before the Scandinavian settlement, was St. Ninian’s Island, Ringan’s Island, Roman’s Island, which involves the Christianity of the ancient Celtic population before the Norwegian settlement.” It is not, however, with Scandinavian antiquaries that we have to contend in clearing up such points of national history, but with British writers, who vainly seek the sources of native arts and civilisation in those of nations younger than our own. Mr. Worsaae acknowledges that both Scotland and Ireland were Christianized centuries before Scandinavia, and largely contributed towards the conversion of the latter to the new faith. Interesting traces

¹ Dicuil’s work was discovered at Paris, and published there in 1807 and 1814.—*Antiquities of Ireland and Denmark*, Worsaae, p. 17.

still remain in the names of many Scottish localities of the primitive Christian colonies, and of collegiate establishments founded, like that of Iona, in the northern and western isles, several of which are mentioned by Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba*. In the curious diploma addressed to Eric, king of Norway, respecting the genealogy of William Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, drawn up by Thomas Tulloch, bishop of Orkney, about 1443,—wherein, for the sake of brevity, he lets pass many “notable operationis and gestis, and refers us till auld cronikis and genealogiis, autentik and approbat,” the following notice occurs:—“Sua we find that in the tyme of Harald Comate, first king of Norwege, this land, or contre insulare of Orchardie, was inhabitat and mainerit be twa nations callit *Peti* and *Pape*, quhilk twa nations, indeid, war allwterlie and clenlie destroyit be Norwegens, of the clan or tribe of the maist stowt Prince Rognald.”¹ These were undoubtedly the native Celtic population, or Picts—of the total extermination of whom a document of the fifteenth century cannot be regarded as very conclusive evidence,—and the Papæ or ecclesiastical fraternities sent forth from Iona. In the *Life of St. Columba* it is stated, that the Saint chancing to meet a prince of the Orkneys at the palace of King Brude, commended to his care some monks who had lately sailed to the Northern Seas, and the missionaries afterwards owed their life to his intercession.² The *Land-námabok* states, that wherever the Norwegian settlers found monks, or remains of their establishments, they called the places by some name beginning with *Pap*, from *pfaff*, *Papa*, *πάππας*, a priest,—as *Papey*, the Priest’s Island; *Papuli*, the Priest’s district. In Orkney there are two *Papeys*; the larger Papa Westray, the smaller Papa

¹ Translated by Dean Thomas Guild in 1554; *Bannat. Miscel.* iii. 73. 74.

² Adamnan, vol. ii. p. 43; Smith’s *Life of Columba*, p. 55.

Stronsay. In the Mainland also, there is Paplay (*Papuli*); another Paplay in South Ronaldshay; in Shetland two *Papeys*, Papa Stour and Papa Little; and a Papill (*Papilia*), in Unst. In the Hebrides also there are two *Pabbys* (*Papey*), and a *Pappadill* in Rum. Adamnan mentions, besides his own monastery, those of Achaluing, Himba, Elan-na-oma, and Kilduin: the three last supposed to be Oransay, Colonsay, and Loch Awe. Eig, Islay, Urquhart, Incheolm in the Firth of Forth, Govan on the Clyde, and many other religious sites, are also ascribed, on more or less trustworthy authority, to the missionary zeal of St. Columba, and his immediate followers; while a still earlier origin is assigned to some of the ancient Culdee Houses reformed by David I., or merged in the magnificent monastic establishments which he founded. Great as was the influence of the Northmen in retarding the fruits of early missionary zeal, it is obvious that they rarely so effectually despoiled the Christian establishments as to permanently eradicate them, or break the traditional sanctity which has consecrated their sites to the service of religion even to our own day. Iona, burned in 802, was rebuilt in 806. Sixty-eight of the brethren perished by the hands of the Pagan Northmen the same year: yet in 814, we again find them founding and building. It is impossible, therefore, to doubt that Christianity was very extensively diffused throughout North Britain, and that numerous ecclesiastical fraternities had been established on the mainland and surrounding islands long before the natives learned to watch the horizon for the plundering fleets of the Norse rovers.

It is not till the ninth century that we find authentic traces of the Scandinavian Vikings on the Scottish shores. While, however, we regard the Pagan Northmen in the light of lawless spoilers, preying on weaker

or defenceless neighbours, they must not be considered a mere barbarian race of pirates. On the contrary, they speedily substituted conquest for spoliation both in Scotland and Ireland; and like their brother Vikings who were then wasting the shores of the Seine and Loire, they colonized the possessions they acquired, and established trade and commerce in lieu of robbery. They bore, indeed, no slight resemblance to the bold adventurers of a more civilized age, who followed Drake and Raleigh in their reprisals against Spanish America; and won reputation, still honoured in our naval annals, by means as inconsistent with the modern law of nations as the plundering expeditions of the old Scandinavian Vikings. The war-songs of the Northmen show that such expeditions were the paths to honour as well as to wealth; nor was it till the milder tenets of Christianity had superseded the warrior-creed of Thor, that their plundering voyages came to an end. But unlike the British and Irish, the Scandinavians have a Pagan literature, contemporary with those scenes of adventure and bold deeds of arms: and so much the more valuable that it preserves a picture of the period, uninfluenced by that corporate spirit which detracts so much from the contemporary monkish annals of our own and other countries. They had their *sagaman*, and their bard or *skjalde*, like the minstrel or troubadour of medieval Europe, whose chief business it was to rehearse the Sagas, and to compose songs and odes in commemoration of their victories and individual prowess. We must not, therefore, rob the old Pagan Norseman of the wild virtues of his age and creed, by bringing them to the standard of modern ideas and principles; but rather accept the characteristic picturings which his Sagas supply as furnishing no unlikely portraiture of the hardy Caledonian of an earlier age.

We know little that is definite regarding the Scandinavian expeditions to our shores till Harold Harfager, king of Norway, in the latter part of the ninth century, conquered first the Shetlands and then the Orkney Islands and Hebrides, and made himself master of the Isle of Man. The change from having the Norsemen as plunderers to that of having them as masters, was probably in the main beneficial, though not unaccompanied with much violence and suffering. Previously to this period their ravages appear to have been incessant, and very frequently successful, both on the Scottish and Irish coasts. They repeatedly assailed and plundered the Christian community of Iona. The annals of Ulster record that the Gentiles, as they are usually termed, completely spoiled the establishment in the year 802, and expelled the family of Iona from the sacred Isle; and again in A.D. 806 many of the brethren perished by their hands. They seem to have treated in like manner the various religious communities settled on the different islands above referred to, which are still designated by the Scandinavian names they conferred on them; though, as has been shown, the followers of St. Columba, and no doubt other fraternities, speedily rebuilt their establishments. Even at that early period some amount of wealth would be accumulated in the muniment chests of the monasteries; and doubtless the poorest of them would endeavour to provide the chalice, paten, and other indispensable furniture of the church and altar, of the precious metals. These must have supplied a fresh incentive to the plundering Vikings; and thus the early incursions of the Northmen contributed to retard the diffusion of the faith among the native Britons, while their own divisions and internal struggles furnished frequent opportunities for the unchecked descent of the spoilers on their coasts. Nor was it plunder alone that

the fierce Northmen bore away from our shores. Both the Irish Annals and the Icelandic Sagas testify to the fact that they frequently loaded their vessels with captives, both male and female, who were sold elsewhere for slaves. There even appear to have been regular markets in Norway and Sweden where the captive Scots and Picts were disposed of; and some of the names still in use in Iceland are believed to be derived from such foreign captives: the female slave having occasionally won the favour of her master, and been wedded even to leaders and kings. While, however, the Norse marauders were making descents with increased frequency on our shores, a revolution was taking place in Norway, somewhat akin to that which placed a Dalriadic chief on the Pictish throne. Harold Harfager, after a protracted struggle, established himself as absolute king of Norway; and such of the Vikings as had been active in opposing his ambitious projects could no longer winter in safety within the *víks* or inlets of their indented coast, from whence they derive their name. Many of those, therefore, who had before paid occasional visits to our shores, now established their headquarters in the Scottish Hebrides, the numerous bays and inlets of which afforded the shelter and protection for their long-oared galleys formerly sought in their native fiords. From this *point d'appui* they made incessant incursions on the newly-established kingdom of Norway, while they also continued to harass and spoil the neighbouring Scottish coasts. Thus deprived of any settled home, and without an acknowledged leader, the Vikings assumed more than ever a piratical character, and became the terror of the whole north of Europe. King Harold offered effectual resistance to these rebellious Norsemen. Every summer the Norwegian fleet scoured the Scottish seas, and compelled them to abandon their Hebridean settlements;

but the hardy Vikings had little to fear from assailants who only drove them to the open sea, from whence, after a successful descent on some unguarded coast, and not unfrequently on that of their assailant, they returned to winter in their old retreats.

After repeated expeditions of the same fruitless character, King Harold determined to put an end to the predatory incursions of the Vikings, by making himself master of the islands which afforded them shelter. Accordingly, about A.D. 870, he collected a powerful fleet, which he commanded in person, and setting sail from Norway, he bore down on the Shetland and Orkney Isles and the Hebrides, slaying or driving them out, spoiling their settlements, and taking possession of the islands. He then proceeded to the Isle of Man, which he found entirely deserted of its inhabitants, who had fled to the Scottish mainland on the approach of the fleet. Harold failed not to enrich his followers with the spoils of the Scottish coasts, as they returned from this successful expedition, so that the unhappy natives were exposed to equal dangers from the Vikings and their conquerors. The Vikings were not, however, reduced to abject fear, by such repeated assaults. Harold bestowed the possession of the Northern Isles on Sigurd, the brother of Rognwald, a distinguished Norwegian chief, who accordingly became first Jarl of the Orkneys; and the fleet returned to Norway, leaving a force deemed sufficient to secure the newly conquered possessions. But the native chiefs of the islands and neighbouring coasts, who had been previously spoiled and driven from their possessions, took advantage of the dispersion of the Vikings, and so soon as the Norwegian fleet had left the Scottish seas, they seized the Hebrides, expelled or put to the sword the whole of the Norwegians left by Harold to hold them in his right, and resumed the occu

pation of their ancient possessions. A second Norwegian expedition followed under the guidance of Ketil, a distinguished chief; and it is curious that in the "Islands Landnamabok," the natives who had recovered possession of the islands are termed Scottish and Irish Vikings (*Vikinger Skotar ok Irar*), sufficiently showing the sense in which that term was understood by the Northmen in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Islesmen were unable to resist the overwhelming force, and appear to have been taken entirely by surprise. The Hebridean chief entered quietly into possession, and then took the first favourable opportunity of renouncing his allegiance to Harold, and declaring himself independent King of the Hebrides.

It is not necessary to do more than glance at the subsequent history of the Scoto-Norwegian kingdoms. Thorstein the Red,—the grandson of Ketil, and son of Olave the White, the famous Amlabh of the Irish Annals, first king of Dublin,—formed a close alliance with Sigurd, then Jarl of Orkney; and with their united forces they made themselves masters of the northern districts of Scotland, including Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray. Sigurd lost his life in this expedition in a remarkable manner. Having, according to the narration of the *Ynglinga Saga*,¹ slain Melbrigda Tönn, or Maolbride the Bucktoothed, one of the Scottish maormors, who derived his appellation from a peculiarly prominent tooth, he cut off his head and hung it at his bridle. But from the violent motion as he galloped over the field, the tooth inflicted a wound on his leg, which inflamed, and ultimately caused his death. The record of this incident in contemporaneous sagas may suffice as an illustration of the barbarous warfare of the period. Sigurd was succeeded by his son Guttorm, as Jarl of

¹ *Ynglinga Saga*, *Coll. de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 65.

Orkney, while Thorstein the Red assumed the title of king of the newly-acquired territory on the mainland; and thus within half a century after the Dalriadic Kenneth had obtained possession of the throne of the Picts, a large portion of the possessions of the latter were wrested from them, and erected into a new kingdom under their foreign conqueror. The sovereignty of Thorstein, however, was of brief duration. He had scarcely held his newly acquired territories for six years when he had to take the field to oppose a force collected by the chiefs of the conquered possessions, under the command of Duncan, the maormor of Caithness. A fierce battle ensued, in which Thorstein was slain, his followers were completely routed, and the Norwegians expelled from the Scottish mainland. This took place about A.D. 875,¹ and for nearly a century no further aggression was attempted by the Norwegians, if we except the annexation of a part of Caithness to the Orkney jarldom: the result, as is believed, of an alliance between Thorfinn, the Orkney jarl, and the daughter of Duncan, maormor of Caithness. In A.D. 986, Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, once more conquered the north of Scotland, after having defeated Finlay, son of Ruari, maormor of Moray, in an attempt to recover Caithness from its Norwegian possessors. Frequent battles followed. The Norwegians were repeatedly defeated and driven from the mainland, but returned with increased force and re-established their g. Meanwhile, by the defeat and death of Kenneth McDuff, Malcolm, maormor of Moray, became

¹ Olave the White, first king of Dublin, and father of Thorstein, fell, according to the *Ann. Ultonienses*, about A.D. 871, having conquered Dublin A.D. 852. A son of his, called Oistin in the *Ann. Ulton.*, appears to be the same Thorstein. He is there stated to have been slain by the Scots in A.D. 874 or 875; and the Sagas in like manner refer to Thorstein having been treacherously killed by the Scots. This, therefore, antedates the victory over the Norwegians from the period previously assigned.

king of Scotland A.D. 1004, and soon after effected a reconciliation with Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus an extensive admixture of Norwegian and Scottish blood took place, the fruit of which is still discernible in the contrast between the population of the northern islands and Scottish mainland, and the Celtic race of the neighbouring Highlands.

Alternate friendly alliances and open warfare followed till A.D. 1034, when the Norwegians once more triumphed and obtained effectual possession of the greater part of the north of Scotland. There they established a kingdom under the powerful Jarl Thorfinn, the son of Sigurd and of his wife the daughter of the Scottish king Malcolm, who thereby ultimately acquired a hereditary right to the Scottish crown, similar to that which is believed to have paved the way to the previous accession of the first Dalriadic king of Scotland. We have thus reached a period of Scottish history over which modern literature has thrown a fictitious but singularly romantic interest. The lineal race of Kenneth MacAlpin having become extinct, the succession reverted to Duncan the son of Crinan, a powerful chief who had married the daughter of the last king of the Scottish race. Hereditary succession through female heirs is always liable to dispute in a rude age, though Celtic ideas were not unfavourable to such an assumption of the crown. But the personal character of Duncan was little fitted to cope with the difficulties of his situation. His unambitious spirit indeed prevented his forcing himself into collision with the Norwegians, or disputing with Thorfinn his newly acquired dominions; and had he been able to communicate the same disposition to his subjects, his reign might have terminated in peace. But after enjoying his throne for about six years, his people took

advantage of the absence of Thorfinn on an expedition to England, and putting Duncan at their head, forced their way into the district of Moray with little opposition. But the Pictish natives of the north refused to recognise his right to the crown, or to accept him as a deliverer from the Norwegian yoke; and, headed by MACBETH, the maormor of Moray, they attacked him in the neighbourhood of Elgin, routed his army and put him to the sword. Macbeth pursued his success, made himself master of the whole kingdom, and with the sanction of the Norwegian jarl assumed the title of King of Scotland. Thus strangely were the questions of regal legitimacy and national independence at variance. It appears to have been solely as a tributary to Thorfinn that Macbeth reigned over the southern half of Scotland. Repeated unsuccessful attempts were made by the adherents of Duncan's party to recover possession of the throne for his son. In one of these, A.D. 1045, Crinan the father of Duncan was slain, who is styled in the *Annals of Ulster* "Abbot of Dunkeld:" a curious illustration of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland prior to the reform of its church by the Saxon princess who became the wife of Duncan's son. The expedition of Duncan had been undertaken while Thorfinn and the chief Norwegian forces were engaged in assailing the Saxon possessions in England. The sons of Duncan accordingly sought refuge at the English court; and when Malcolm Canmore, Duncan's eldest son, returned to avenge his father's wrongs, he was accompanied by a Saxon army under the command of his uncle, Siward Earl of Northumberland. In securing by such means the possession of the Lothians, which was all that Malcolm was able at that time to wrest from Macbeth, he paved the way for that second and more important change, whereby they were ultimately transferred to a Teutonic race of occu-

pants. Four years afterwards Macbeth was defeated and slain in the battle of Lumphanan; and on the death of Thorfinn, in 1064, Malcolm Canmore obtained final possession of the entire Scottish mainland, though the Norwegian jarls continued to retain undisputed hold of the Northern and Western Isles. To complete the narrative of the intermingling of races, it is only necessary further to refer to Malcolm's marriage, A.D. 1067, with the Saxon princess Margaret, the grandniece of the Confessor, which so materially contributed to the peaceful union of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon races upon Scottish soil.

Such is a slight sketch of that important era from the intrusion of the Scottish race into the Western Highlands, to the final ejection of the Norwegians from the mainland, and the restoration of the crown to a Celtic prince with the aid of a Saxon army. It is impossible to conceive of the presence of Norwegian settlers for so long a period on the mainland of Scotland without their greatly affecting the character of the native population. From about A.D. 870, when the first Norwegian kingdom was established there, to A.D. 1064, when that of Thorfinn came to an end at his death, a large portion of the north of Scotland had been repeatedly held possession of for a considerable period by the Norwegians; and the name of Sutherland commemorates the marches of the Norse territory. Long periods of peace and friendly alliance afforded abundant opportunities for intermarriage; and we see in the marriage of the Orkney jarl with the daughter of the Scottish maormor, a clear proof that no prejudices interfered to prevent such unions. This was still less likely to be the case during the reign of Macbeth, which lasted for eighteen years; as the closest alliance and community of interests then subsisted between the Northern Celtic and Norwegian races. To this period therefore we probably owe much of the

intermixture of blood, and consequent changes wrought on the aboriginal race, which still distinguish their descendants from the purer Celt of the south and west of Ireland. The genealogies of many of the old Highland chiefs, and the history of the clans, furnish evidence of this intermixture of the races ; and the physical characteristics of the natives of several northern districts of the Scottish Highlands abundantly confirm the same fact. Yet it is surprising how very partially the influence of the Northmen is now traceable. We have proofs of the introduction of Runic literature, and also of the use of Runic characters by the natives ; yet if we except the Isle of Man, a dependency of Scotland both before and after its occupation by the Northmen, only a few fragments of inscriptions in the northern runes had been found in Scotland, until the recent discoveries of Mr. James Farrer, at Maeshowe, in Orkney, furnished such remarkable additions to the literate memorials of the Northmen's presence there. On the mainland, numerous local names are traceable to a Scandinavian origin. In some Scottish Lowland districts a considerable number of words and many peculiarities of pronunciation are manifestly derived from the same source ; while in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, customs, superstitions, language, and even legal formulas, all clearly point to their long occupation as an independent Norse jarldom, or as a dependency of the Danish crown. In the Western Isles, it has proved otherwise. The language spoken there is still Gaelic, and the race is popularly supposed to correspond with it. But my friend, Captain Thomas, R.N., after several years of intimate intercourse with the natives of the Lewis, while engaged on the Admiralty Survey, writes that, when the first novelty of mixing with a purely Gaelic-speaking people was over, he discovered many traits of similarity between them and the popula-

tion of the Orkney Islands, and he ultimately came to the conclusion that about one-half the Hebrideans are of Norse origin, the remainder being chiefly Gaelic or Irish. But the proportions vary in different parishes; and he fancied he could trace a Finnish type, with short, broad face, and turned-up nose, amounting, in Lewis, to about ten per cent. As was inevitable also, the topographical nomenclature has been largely affected by the presence of the Vikings, and the later Norse population. Indeed so extensive has been the change in this respect that Captain Thomas remarks, as the result of his minute observations: "in all Harris, two places alone indicate by their names the presence of a race anterior to the Northmen." Extensive and durable traces thus commemorate in many ways the intrusion of this race of northern warriors on the older colonists of Scotland; nor can we hesitate to ascribe somewhat of our peculiar national character and physical conformation to that intimate intercourse which prevailed more or less extensively for upwards of two centuries, and indeed in the Orkney and Shetland Islands for a much longer period, between the Norwegian and Celtic races. On Scotland, as a whole, the influence of this Scandinavian colonization and conquest has been much more direct and effective than any results of the Roman Invasion. But both of these historic changes suffice to account for only a very few of the national peculiarities, or of the distinctive features of our earlier arts, and we still require to look to native sources for the larger number of archæological relics, and for the most characteristic classes of monumental remains.

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CATT STONE, MIDLOTHIAN.

CHAPTER II.

SCULPTURED STANDING-STONES.

AMONG the ancient monuments which invite attention in the progress of our inquiry into the peculiar characteristics of Scottish Archæology, the Sculptured Standing Stones include a class of examples of early native art, altogether unique ; and which, notwithstanding all the attention they have excited among many intelligent observers, still continue to present some most puzzling features. But besides the Sculptured Stones peculiar to Scotland, there are also specimens of inscribed stones, more or less rudely graven in Roman characters, and a debased form of the Latin language, such as are met with in some parts of England, and more frequently in South Wales. But such monuments of the Romano-British and early Saxon periods are of the rarest occurrence in the northern part of the Island ; where their place is supplied by still more interesting examples of Ogham, Celtic, and Runic inscriptions, the memorials of forgotten alphabets and long-silent tongues.

One curious example of the rude native inscription in Roman characters, which stands near the banks of the river Almond, in the parish of Kirkliston, about seven miles from Edinburgh, has long attracted attention under the name of the CATT STANE (Plate XII.) It is a monolith of dark whinstone, about four and a half feet high, on which may be deciphered the roughly executed legend,

in characters corresponding to those graven on similar monuments by the Romanized Britons of South Wales, which appear to me to read :—

IN OC TVMVLO IACET VETTA F VICTR

The ground in the neighbourhood of this memorial stone has been repeatedly disturbed ; and in the course of a series of investigations, suggested to Professor Simpson by the correspondence of the genealogy of Vetta the son



FIG. 140. —The Catt Stone.

of Victa, to that assigned by the Saxon Chronicle, Nennius, Bede, etc., to the brothers Hengist and Horsa, he renewed excavations around the ancient monolith in 1861, thereby exposing the true form of the trap boulder which had been selected to bear the epitaph. The woodcut, Fig. 140, shows the stone as it appeared on clearing out the earth to its base. But all traces of the original sepulture had disappeared long before. A large tumulus

which formerly stood about sixty yards to the west, was opened in 1824, and found to contain several complete skeletons. But since then it has been gradually levelled in the process of agricultural operations, so that very slight indications of it now remain. Other traces of ancient sepulture in the same neighbourhood coincide with this in suggesting associations with the Celtic derivation of the name of the inscribed monolith as synonymous with Battle Stone. Following out the researches above referred to, Professor Simpson adopts in the last word the reading *victi*, and has made the old monument the subject of an ingenious monograph, characterized by his wonted learning and research, the aim of which is indicated in its title: "The Cat-Stane, Edinburghshire: is it not the tombstone of the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa?"

Of the same class is another and more elaborately-inscribed stone found near Yarrow Kirk, Selkirkshire, nearly sixty years ago, which attracted the attention of Sir Walter Scott. The inscription consists of six lines: now too much defaced to admit of its reproduction with any certainty. Different versions of it have accordingly been produced. The following appears to me to be decipherable, though not without considerable uncertainty as to some of the letters of the second and third lines:—

HIC MEMOR IACET I
 LOINGISNI • I • MV : :
 PER : MVRI : : PRINCI :
 DVMNOCENI • HIC IACENT
 IN TVMVLO DVO FILII
 LIBERALIS

In one of the Latin versions of Canute's laws, the King's Thegn is designated *Liberalis*; but, as Professor Simpson has already suggested, this name is probably the Latinized form of a British surname. Rydderch, king of Strath-

clyde in the latter part of the sixth century, the personal friend of Kentigern and Columba, was sometimes, from his munificence, styled Rydderch Hael, or Liberalis.¹ Among the names of the race of Conall, that of Loingsech more than once appears; and that of O'Loingsigh in other ancient genealogies. The half-obliterated letters of the first portion, so greatly defaced in parts, possibly contained the names of the two sons of Liberalis referred to on the lower portion of the stone.

An inscription of a remarkable, and indeed altogether unique character which occurs on a rude granite monolith at Newton in Garioch, Aberdeenshire, has recently been assigned to the same class as the above. The Newton Stone measures fully six feet in height, by about two feet in greatest breadth; and along its left edge an inscription is cut in Ogham characters on a stem-line graven on the surface. Irish ogham inscriptions have been frequently read, but the Newton Stone oghams have hitherto baffled all attempts at interpretation; and they occupy a secondary place to the more important but equally unreadable inscription graven in six lines of large unknown characters across the upper face of the monolith. This has been repeatedly engraved; and General Vallancey, whom no antiquarian riddle daunted, professed to read the first two lines *Gylf Gomarra*, i.e., Prince Gomarra: apparently from some slight or fancied resemblance of the characters to equivalent Roman letters. But his *g* and *f* appear to be the same; and as even he could proceed no farther, the interpretation obviously does not lie in that direction. "More recently," says Mr. Stuart,² "a correct copy of the inscription was submitted to Dr. Mill, late Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and one of the most profound

¹ *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 143.

² *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, p. 1.

eastern scholars of recent times. Dr. Mill at the time of his lamented death, had all but completed a dissertation on the language of the inscription, and an explanation of its meaning. It appeared to him that the inscription was in the Phœnician character, and commemorated a sacrifice." He was confirmed in this conclusion by the belief that he had found all the more usual forms of the characters on pottery discovered by Mr. Layard in Babylon. This learned dissertation, known to the editor of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* only by report, was produced at the Cambridge meeting of the British Association, in 1862. It discovers in the Newton monolith a votive monument thus dedicated to the Tyrian Esculapius: "To Eshmun, God of Health, by this monumental stone may the wandering exile of me thy servant go up in never-ceasing memorial: even the record of Han-Thanit-Zenaniah, magistrate, who is saturated with sorrow."¹ The Ethnological and Archæological section to which this elaborate interpretation of the brief inscription was submitted, was further startled by its secretary, Mr. Thomas Wright, announcing, with the cast of the same before him, that the legend, engraved in the accompanying woodcut, which for upwards of half a century had puzzled the brains of learned antiquaries, is nothing more than an ordinary formula of barbarous Latin still thus far decipherable at a glance HIC IACIT CONSTANTINVS . . . FILIVS . . . From the correspondence undoubtedly traceable between some of its characters and those of the Greek alphabet, I am less surprised at the opinion expressed by the Master of Trinity and other Cambridge scholars, that the inscription is Greek: but as Colonel Sykes is reported to have detected an affinity to the ancient Lât alphabet of the Buddhists in the same pre-terran characters, it must still retain its place among the

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ccxiii. p. 585; *Athenæum*, Oct. 18, 1862.

unsolved riddles of the Scottish sphinx. The ogham runes on the same stone, from the place they occupy, look like a subsequent addition. By these, however, it is connected with a class of monuments found in Wales and Ireland, as well as in Scotland, which are affirmed, on the authority of the most ancient Irish histories, to have been introduced by the Tuatha de Danaan some thirteen centuries before the birth of Christ. The regular and artificial system of the ogham alphabet, in which



FIG. 141.—Newton Stone.

its characters are classified into groups of consonants, vowels, and diphthongs of five each, with a method wholly wanting in any other ancient alphabet, suggests a greatly more recent origin for it; and the decipherment of Latin grammatical forms, accompanying Christian names and sculptured crosses, on some of the Irish and Welsh Ogham stones, confirms the idea of its use, and probably its origin in Christian times.

The Irish inscriptions have been deciphered from a key supplied in a treatise on the Ogham contained in

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BRESSAY OGHAM STONE.

the book of Ballymote, and supposed to be of the ninth century. It appears to be equally applicable to Welsh inscriptions; but those of Scotland have hitherto received explanations of very doubtful value, or have entirely baffled the ingenious learning of Ogham scholars, and thereby tend to increase the uncertainty which still surrounds the whole subject.

The characters traced on the edge of the Newton pillar may, as has been already suggested, be a later addition than the supposed Phœnician inscription; but they invite to the belief in bilingual versions of the same legend, offering a peculiarly tempting opportunity for testing the value of Ogham interpretation as the key to so recondite a riddle. Certainly, however, the Newton stone bears less resemblance than any other to the Ogham pillars of Ireland.

The other Scottish Oghams, so far as hitherto observed, occur on a class of sculptured stones peculiar to Scotland, if not indeed to its ancient Pictish territory. These preserve evidences of native arts, and of a peculiar mystic symbolism pertaining to the national faith in that transitional period when Paganism and Christianity were contending for mastery over the national mind. The Ogham Stone of Bressay, in Shetland, Plates XIII. xv. most nearly resembles the Irish monuments; but its sculptures reveal specialities peculiar to the Scottish art of the period; and its philological features appear to be equally foreign to Irish epigraphy. Of the various classes of Pagan and Christian monuments of this era, a few of the best known examples have been repeatedly engraved; but generally on so small a scale, and with so little attention to accuracy of detail, that they failed to secure that interest among British archaeologists which their number and the very beautiful and singular character of their sculptures merit. The reproach of leaving these remark-

able national monuments unillustrated was, however, to some extent removed by the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers' *Ancient Monuments of the County of Angus*.¹ That work furnished a series of examples of the sculptured stones long ascribed to a Danish origin, but now nearly all recognised as peculiar to Scotland; and since the first edition of this work was issued, the whole has been overtaken, under the efficient direction of Mr. John Stuart, by the Spalding Club, in his admirable and trustworthy views and descriptions of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. In most other countries such a work would have been undertaken at the cost of the nation; but it has probably gained in completeness by the freedom of action as well as the hearty co-operation of private zeal. Attempts to decorate Scottish sepulchral memorials by means of sculptured ornaments are traceable in the rude devices of a very early period. Several curious examples have already been noted, of stone cists, otherwise entirely unhewn, the covers of which have been ornamented with incised patterns similar to those on the gigantic chambered cairn of New Grange, near Drogheda. But greater interest perhaps attaches to another though more simply decorated Scottish cist pertaining apparently to a much later period. On a rising ground about half a mile to the east of the town of Alloa, called the Hawkhill, is a large upright block of sandstone sculptured with a cross as represented in the annexed engraving. It measures ten and a quarter feet in height, though little more than seven feet are now visible above ground. A similar cross is cut on both sides of the stone, as is not uncommon with such simple memorials. During the progress of agricultural operations in the immediate vicinity

¹ *The Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus, including those at Meigle in Perthshire, and one at Fordoun in Meams.* By Patrick Chalmers of Auldbar, Esq. Bannatyne Club.

of this ancient cross, in the spring of 1829, Mr. Robert Bald, C.E., an intelligent Scottish antiquary, obtained permission from the Earl of Mar to make some excavations around it, when, at about nine feet north, a rude cist was found, constructed of unhewn sandstone, measuring only three feet in length, and at each end of the cover, *on the under side*, a simple cross was cut. The lines which formed the crosses were straight and uniform, and evidently finished with care, though the slab itself was unusually rude. The cist lay east and

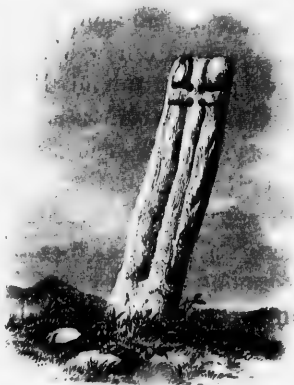


FIG. 142.—Hawkhill Stone.

west, and contained nothing but human bones greatly decayed. Drawings of the cross and cist, and a plan of the ground, executed by Mr. Bald, are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Here we possess a singularly interesting example of the union of Christian and Pagan sepulchral rites: the cist laid east and west, according to the early Christian custom, yet constructed of the old circumscribed dimensions, and of the rude but durable materials in use for ages before the new faith had superseded aboriginal Pagan creeds.

To this same transition-period there can now be little

hesitation in assigning that remarkable class of Scottish sculptured stones, decorated frequently on one side with the figure of the cross, and on the other, or accompanying it, with various mystic symbols of constant recurrence, which still remain an enigma to British antiquaries. Some of those monuments contain only the mysterious symbols, unaccompanied by the emblem of the Christian faith, and are usually of ruder execution, and cut on unhewn stones. Theorists who have deemed it indispensable to assign to them an antiquity long prior to the Christian era, have supposed that the cross has been superadded to the older Pagan sculptures; but no traces of any such hybrid union are now discoverable. On the contrary, where the Christian and Pagan symbols are combined, they occur almost invariably on monuments of a more finished character, and accompanied with elaborately interlaced patterns and figures of dragons, serpents, and nondescript monsters, bearing an unmistakable resemblance to decorations of ancient Irish manuscripts, which nearly correspond to the era of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. Several of the beautiful initials from the Book of Kells, an Irish ms. of the sixth century, as engraved in Mr. Westwood's *Palaeographia*, present a striking correspondence to the style of ornament of the sculptures; while the interlaced knotwork on the case of the shrine of St. Maidoc, which Dr. Petrie conceives cannot be later than the eighth century, though less distinctly characteristic, and by no means peculiar to Ireland, very nearly corresponds in its details to the ornamentation frequently introduced on Scottish monuments. Others, such as the Aberlemno and one of the Meigle crosses, are decorated with raised pellets or nail-heads, manifestly derived from the ornamental studs of the old British buckler. The same decoration appears on one of the sanctuary crosses, to be seen about a

mile from St. Maughold's Church, in the Isle of Man. The arrangements of the figures on some of the Scottish monuments of this period also tend to suggest the idea of contemporary intercourse between Scotland and Ireland: already indicated by the occurrence of inscriptions in the same ogham character on the early monuments of both countries, and confirmed by such partial correspondence as is traceable between the sculptures of the celebrated Forres column and others of its class, and those on the shafts of the beautiful crosses at Monasterboice. The Irish crosses, however, are evidently later works; and are indeed assigned by Dr. Petrie to the early part of the tenth century.

The localities of the remarkable monuments now under consideration are worthy of special notice. Notwithstanding a partial correspondence between the Scottish sculptured stones and some of the early Christian monuments of Ireland: with the exception of the unique piece of rock-sculpture at Anwoth, in the ancient *terra Pictorum* of Galloway, they all occur remote from the western coast. Sculptured crosses and sepulchral slabs of great beauty abound in Iona and others of the western islands, and on the neighbouring mainland, with their own characteristic local style; but no single example marked by the peculiar symbols and sculptures referred to, has hitherto been found within any portion of the original limits of the Scotie kingdom, where Irish influence was naturally to be looked for. The greater number, amounting in all to upwards of a hundred, besides many more sculptured stones of less specific character, occur in the north eastern districts between the Moray Firth and the Tay. The Anwoth rock-sculpture, which includes one of the most familiar groups of symbols found on the northern stones, and an imperfect fragment recently discovered near the base of the Castle-rock at Edinburgh,

are the only instances of such sculptures hitherto met with to the south of the Forth. Fife possesses at least two examples : one of them discovered since the Spalding Club volume appeared. But besides these, several monuments apparently belonging to the same period and style of art occur there ; and the district has acquired a further and peculiar interest from the discovery of the silver Norrie's Law relics, graven with the same mysterious-symbols of an unknown creed. To the north, again, one interesting example has been brought to light, built up in the ruined church of St. Peter's, on the island of South Ronaldshay, in Orkney ; and another on that of Sandness, in Shetland. Whatever, therefore, be the date or origin of this remarkable class of monuments, they appear not only to be peculiar to Scotland, but are there confined to a small and well-defined range of country ; and while the more highly decorated stones present many elaborate details which find their counterpart both in early Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, they are also marked by features very clearly distinguishing them from the early Christian monuments of England, Wales, and Ireland. Like so many other Scottish antiquities, those singular sculptures were long ascribed to a Scandinavian origin ; but we look in vain for any traces of their characteristic symbols among the monuments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, or on the runic crosses of the Christianized Northmen in the Isle of Man ; and the recent attention devoted both to British and Northern antiquities renders it no longer necessary to combat an opinion which could only obtain any foundation in ignorance.

Of the sculptured monuments of this period nearly one hundred and fifty are engraved in the Spalding Club volume. But though occurring within so circumscribed an area, they admit of division into two very

distinct classes, and of these the first, and to all appearance the oldest, is the most numerous. This consists of rude unhewn monoliths, graven with most of the symbols peculiar to the Scottish stones, but unaccompanied by the emblems of the Christian faith. They abound in Aberdeenshire, but are also found along the shores of the Moray Firth, and characterize nearly all the outlying examples: The rock-sculpture at Anwoth, on the Solway Firth; the stone at Edinburgh; at Lindores, in Fife; at Dunrobin, in Sutherland; at South Ronaldshay, in

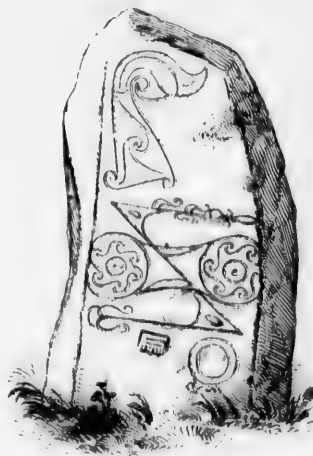


FIG. 143.—Dunnichen Stone.

Orkney; and at Sandness, in Shetland. Of some of the most characteristic devices, the Dunnichen Stone, dug up in the vicinity of Forfar, affords a good illustration. These symbolic figures have been classed under names descriptive of their arbitrary forms, and may be conveniently designated by such: as the conjoined circles, or the spectaced, and the z symbols, which frequently occur in combination; and the crescent and v symbols, also often combined; the serpent, alone or intertwined

with the z symbol; the elephant or walrus; the bird; the dolphin; the fish; the dog's head; the horse-shoe or tore; the mirror and comb. Of those the v and z symbols, the conjoined circles, the crescent, the mirror, and the elephant or walrus, most frequently occur, in every variety of workmanship from the plain incised lines on the unhewn monoliths of Logie or Dunrobin, to



FIG. 144. Norrie's Law Ornament.

the sculptured slabs of Brodie, Rosemarkie, or St. Vigean's: wrought with all the elaborate minuteness of the finest illuminated manuscript. Ingenious theorists have recognised in those the "sifars and figuris of beistis maid in maner of letteris," borrowed, as old Bocce tells us, from the rites and manners of the Egyptians; the crescent of the Druids; the initial z s l, of Zodiacus, Sol, and Luna; the mystical signs of the Jewish cabbala and the Gnostic heretics; and the key to a whole system of esoteric wonders. A figure which occurs on the Dunnichen Stone, and also apparently on one at Dunrobin Castle, has been identified as the *Atf*, or high cap of the Egyptian Osiris, surmounted by a lotus. But the same figure, accompanying the combined circles and z symbols, is engraved on one of the remarkable Norrie's Law silver relics, minutely described in the following chapter. It is shown above, the same size as the original; and in this case there can be no doubt that it represents an animal's, probably a dog's head, as is equally apparent on one of the crosses

the sculptured slabs of Brodie, Rosemarkie, or St. Vigean's: wrought with all the elaborate minuteness of the finest illuminated manuscript. Ingenious theorists have recognised in those the "sifars and figuris of beistis maid in maner of letteris," borrowed, as old Bocce tells us, from the rites and manners of the Egyptians; the crescent of the Druids; the initial z s l, of Zodiacus, Sol, and Luna; the mystical signs of the Jewish cabbala and the Gnostic heretics; and the key to a whole system of esoteric wonders. A figure which occurs on the Dunnichen Stone, and also apparently on one at Dunrobin Castle, has been identified as the

in the churchyard of Meigle,¹ and also on what is called "King Malcolm's grave-stone" at Glamis,² where the same figure accompanies the two-handed mirror. Professor Westwood, in reviewing the *Sculptured Monuments of Angus*, which constituted the first efficient means towards the general study of this interesting class of sculptures, mentions having met with an almost precisely similar ornament to one of their symbols on Gnostic gems and coins bearing cabalistic inscriptions; and "hence he is led to think that the carvings on the reverse sides of these stones may have been intended to refer to the perpetual conflict between the Cross on the one hand, and false doctrines and worldly pursuits on the other; the Gnostic emblem being intended as an indication of the former of these principles, counteracting and opposing the spreading of the doctrines of the Cross, and the scenes of the chase, etc., as indicating the latter."³

To this ingenious theory the same writer again reverts, when referring to Mr. Stuart's more comprehensive volume, and produces in illustration the engraving of a Gnostic gem of agate, from the collection of the late Viscount Strangford, on which a z-formed symbol is twice repeated with variations, but also accompanied by others totally dissimilar to any of those on the Scottish stones. Other illustrations of Gnostic gems are also referred to, engraved by Chifflet, Kopp, and Montfaucon, "in which the z, or reversed z traversed by a cross-bar, accompanied with rings, and surrounded by serpents biting their tails, occur."⁴ But it must be acknowledged that the single z symbol, in itself only partially corresponding to those of the Scottish sculptures, and unaccompanied by any of the more unmistakable and

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXXIII.

² *Archæol. Jour.* vol. vi. p. 90.

³ *Ibid.* Plate LXXXIV.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. xiv. p. 190.

oft-repeated Gnostic signs, is a very slender basis for such a theory. Its force is further diminished on observing that, while the z symbol occurs upwards of forty times on different Scottish monuments, with every degree of ornamentation, and in combination with circles, crescents, serpents, and other figures, no single example can be selected as actually reproducing any of the known Gnostic groups. On the contrary, Montfaucon devotes thirty-five plates to the illustration of upwards of 400 Gnostic gems,¹ among which undoubtedly a z sign repeatedly occurs, sometimes as a letter, and in others as one of a group of symbols; but it is neither a prominent nor characteristic one; and when arbitrarily selected from the whole, it presents only an exceptional correspondence among several thousand signs and characters. The serpent occurs in various forms: lion-headed, cock-headed, entwined, and wreathed, but never resembling those of the Scottish sculptures. Phallic emblems and strange hybrids are repeated in many varieties, among which the most common is the human figure with a cock's head, and snakes instead of legs. The lion, the ape, the fox, and the dog also contribute to illustrate the predominant idea of material evil in union with the divine emanation or the soul, and the intrinsically evil nature of the corporeal and corruptible elements of man.

It would be a discovery full of interest, and one in no degree calculated to diminish our estimate of the intellectual development of the Scottish Picts in the era immediately succeeding the withdrawal of the Romans, if we could trace among them the cultivation of one or other of the early phases of Gnostic philosophy; or, as might perhaps seem less improbable, some traces of that oriental Manichæism which in the third century, after

¹ Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. ii. plates 144-178.

rapidly diffusing itself through Syria and Palestine, spread along the shores of the Mediterranean, and beyond the Alps into Gaul. But we look equally in vain for the secret signs of its *perfecti*, or for any well-defined symbols of Gnostic philosophy, among the northern Picts. If, moreover, we actually seek to trace in such symbols the influence of those teachers who produced their philosophic sophisms during the first centuries of the Christian era as a key to the hidden mysteries of Scripture, we must assume these to have been introduced along with the creed of which they thus formed an adjunct. But nothing appears to be more clearly indicated by the monumental evidence, confirmed as it is by the remarkable sepulchral disclosures of Norrie's Law, than that its peculiar symbolism preceded that of the new faith. The idea which the rude unhewn, but graven monoliths suggests, is that in them we have relics pertaining to the unromanized Pagan Britons: the lingering Druidism, perchance, of a locality lying beyond the bounds of Roman conquest, where some phase of the native creed may have been cherished by Cymri as well as Gaels, long after its extermination within the provinces subject to Roman sway; until, as the monuments seem to indicate, it was gradually merged in the new creed. According to Caesar, the Druids of his day rigorously forbade the use of written characters in relation to their religion; so that the introduction of a visible symbolism may have been only the last resort of an expiring creed, and hence limited to the latest retreat of Celtic Paganism. But this supposition, which throws no light on the special significance of the symbols, is but an inferential guess; if, indeed, it is not liable to the old charge to which so many Druidical interpretations lie open, of cheating the inquirer with a mere name. Apart, however, from all theorizing as to the hidden knowledge or meaning in-

volved in the graven devices, the monuments on which they occur are clearly divisible into two classes : the one plain, unhewn, and unornamented monoliths ; the other highly decorated sculptures, on which the general ornamentation is extended to the simple forms of the original symbols. It is necessary, therefore, to discriminate carefully between the symbolic devices and their ornamental adjuncts. The mere decorative work, though peculiar in style, is common to the early Christian monuments of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland ; but the special symbols appear to have preceded the earliest introduction of such Christian art. They occur in simple geometric outline, on the rude unhewn column, the visible signs of some native cabbala ; and when the first traces of Christian art make their appearance, it is as adjuncts of the older symbols that those of the new faith are introduced : not superseding or entirely displacing them, but claiming the central place, and enlisting them in its service. This fully accords with the well-established practice of the early Christian missionaries, of conforming in many ways to the superstitious customs of their converts, and winning them to the faith by rededicating their pillar-stones and other Pagan monuments, and even adapting to the new worship some of the most popular Pagan rites.

We read in Evin's *Life of St. Patrick* of his dedicating to Christ three pillar-stones which had been reared on the plain of Magh Selga ; and tradition affirms that more than one of the magnificent abbeys of the medieval church occupy the area of older megalithic circles. The idea receives confirmation from the repeated discovery of Pagan monuments on ancient Christian sites. In the ruined church of South Ronaldshay, Orkney, the graven monolith had been built in as the sill of a window ; that of Inveravon was found under the foundations of the

old church ; and that of Arndilly was recovered on demolishing the last vestiges of another Christian edifice of early date. So also others occupy sites in the vicinity of the most ancient ecclesiastical foundations, where also those marked by a higher art and the symbols of the new faith of which it was the accompaniment, find their appropriate place.

The result of all the intelligent zeal and research devoted in recent years to this remarkable class of national monuments, still leaves their most characteristic features divested of little of their former mystery ; but among the devices alluded to, two objects of domestic use, the mirror and comb, are repeatedly introduced ; and after being assumed alike by earlier antiquaries, and by popular traditions perpetuated in such names as "The Maiden Stone" of Garioch, as indications of a female monument, they have more recently been traced to the supposed emblems of Christian martyrdom found sculptured on tombs in the Roman catacombs. Dr. Maitland, however, has successfully combated this mode of explaining what were often no more than the implements of a trade or profession. The simple words *VENERIE IN PACE*,¹ are accompanied by the figures of a mirror, comb, and pair of shears, on one of the primitive Roman tombs : indications apparently solely of the sex, or possibly also of the occupation of the deceased. That these symbols were used in Scotland for the same purpose at a much later period, is proved by the sculptures on various medieval monuments, and in particular on that of the Prioress Anna at Iona, who, though a religious, looks no martyr on her tomb. It is engraved by Pennant,² and more minutely, though in its later greatly more imperfect state, in Mr. H. D. Graham's illustrations of

¹ *The Church in the Catacombs*, p. 180.

² Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. Plate xxiv. Fig. 2.

the *Antiquities of Iona*.¹ Two angels arrange the pillow of the good prioress, a lady neither of spare nor youthful figure ; while on either side of her are her little lap-dogs, each with a riband and bell to its neck, and over all the mirror and comb : possibly designed on this, as well as on the Roman lady's tomb, to indicate the virginity or celibacy of the dead. A discovery of bronze relics of great interest was made, in 1861, in trenching a moss in the parish of Balmaclellan, New Galloway. Underneath the upper stone of a querne lay a series of bronze plates cut into segmental patterns, and decorated with ornamental studs : probably the metallic ornaments of a



FIG. 145.—Bronze Crescent-Plate.



FIG. 146.

wooden situla or box in which the more valuable objects had been deposited. The most important of these is a bronze mirror, and a highly ornamented crescent-shaped plate of the same metal, both of which are engraved here. The lunette or crescent-shaped ornament is shown in Fig. 145 ; and a part of the engraved ornamentation, enlarged in Fig. 146, illustrates its elaborate and carefully executed details. The ornamental device where the handle is attached to the mirror, is wrought by hammering up the patterns on thin plates of bronze ; and both in design and workmanship they present an obvious resemblance to those on the Stichel head-ring, and the

¹ Graham's *Iona*, Plate XLV.

Plunton Castle armlet.¹ The mirror (Fig. 147) measures, with its handle, thirteen inches in length. Its workmanship gives proof of great metallurgic skill, and both in form and ornamentation it presents a striking correspondence to the sculptured mirror which repeatedly appears among the symbolic devices of the Scottish standing-stones.

Another of the more common devices is a singular nondescript animal, generally assumed to be a symbolic elephant. It is repeatedly represented on a large scale, and occupies an equally prominent place on Pagan and Christian monuments. On at least three of them—the



FIG. 147.—Bronze Mirror.

“Prince’s Stone” at Glenferness, the “Priest’s Stone” at Dunfallandy, and on one of those found at Kintore,—it is twice introduced.² The relative magnitude of the animal, the invariable feature of the long trunk thrown back over the head, and the tusk-like form of its curved and tapering snout, all combine to suggest the idea of the elephant. But since the publication of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Professor Westwood has ingeniously assigned the walrus as the more probable object

¹ Fig. 131, p. 146; Fig. 132, Plate x.

² *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates XXIV, XLVII, CX.

of representation.¹ The absence of the tusks he conceives to be irreconcilable with the supposed depiction of the elephant, while the fact that the walrus is known on rare occasions to make its appearance on the Scottish coasts, furnishes a more likely source for the model of the native artist. If, however, he can conceive of Gnostic or Manichæan symbols being introduced on such monuments, where undoubtedly apes, serpents, and other animals equally foreign appear, the addition of another so remarkable for its size as the elephant is far from inconceivable. If, moreover, the supposed points of resemblance to the walrus are minutely analysed, the scroll-like terminations of the limbs, as a conventional rendering of aquatic paddles, alone stand the test; and assuming, as we do, that those monuments belong to a period altogether prior to the era of the Scottish Norsemen, when the *rostungr* or walrus was a favourite object of pursuit for its ivory: it must not be overlooked that the seal, a smaller animal of the same form, is common on the Scottish coasts, and is sculptured more than once, as on the Inverkeithing Stone with considerable accuracy, and less perfectly on another in Meikle churchyard.² The head of the walrus is round, and its perpendicular tusks are not less characteristic than those of the elephant; whereas, in the symbolic animal of the monuments, the head is prolonged to a pointed snout curving upwards, like the elephant's tusks, and with the still more characteristic trunk, thrown back over the head. The tail also accords with the quadruped, but not with the amphibious mammal; so that it is not without some good reason that the elephant has been assigned as the subject of the old sculptor's art. Nevertheless, the rarely seen walrus may have been the object not only of wonder, but of super-

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. xiv. p. 192.

² *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates CXXXI. LXXVI.

stitious worship to the native Pict, before the Northman had taught him to turn its ivory to economic uses; and as such, its introduction on the monuments as a Pagan symbol would be sufficiently accounted for. But whether regarded as the elephant or walrus, the sculptured figure is obviously the conventional representation of an unfamiliar object; whereas horses, dogs, deer, boars, and other animals with which the artist was familiar, are executed with great fidelity and spirit. A careful study of the monuments altogether precludes the idea that the Pictish sculptor was limited in his models to the fauna of the British Islands. On one of the Meigle Stones,¹ it is difficult to reject the idea that a kneeling camel is represented with considerable fidelity; possibly the same unfamiliar animal is designed on the border of the St. Vigean Stone;² and a third representation of it, more clearly defined than either of those, has been pointed out to me by Mr. Stuart, on another remarkable symbolic monolith recently discovered on the little island of Canna, in Inverness-shire. The bear is introduced in more than one group; an animal with flowing mane suggests the lion; and another object of chase, in the hunting scenes, has been supposed to be the tiger or leopard. But the mixture of imitative art with the creations of an exuberant fancy, renders a cautious discrimination necessary in any attempt to determine the specific design of the less familiar objects. The place which the symbolic "elephant" occupies in the sculptures is alongside of the crescents, circles, and other enigmatical ciphers. But the purely ornamental borders and hunting scenes are by no means limited to the literal imitation of familiar nature. Birds and beasts, known and unknown, intermingle with harpies, dragons, and monstrous forms, that seem as if modelled after the extinct saurians of geologic periods.

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXXIII.

² *Ibid.* Plate LXIX.

On the Forteviot Stone, a dragon seizes the horn of a rhinoceros or unicorn ;¹ capricorns and other sea-monsters contend and intertwine, or tie themselves up into complicated knots, as on the Aberlemno, Largo, and Meikle Crosses ;² the centaur is repeatedly introduced as a prominent figure, as at Meikle, bearing in one hand the cross, and in the other what appears to be the misletoe ; or on the Aberlemno Stone, where the branch ramifies in conventional scrolls.³ On a stone near Glammis, a human figure is seemingly completed with a crocodile's head ; on another on the Island of Inchbrayoe, the head appears as if borrowed from insect life ; and on a third, at Kirriemuir, the cherubim have the heads of birds ;⁴ while around the borders serpents, dragons, and monsters in endless variety, knot themselves up into beautiful interlaced patterns ; or, as on the inscribed Cross of St. Vigean, grotesque hybrids, half-bird half-beast, stalk among the intertwining snakes and fantastic animals which sport over the margins of the elaborately-sculptured slabs.

The same lively fancy which suffices to give such endless variety to the illuminations of early Saxon and Irish manuscripts, is apparent in many of the designs of the old Scottish sculptors ; but others possess a higher value as illustrations of the manners, customs, dresses, weapons, musical instruments, etc., in use by that remarkable people of the north-east of Scotland, among whom, so far as now appears, the symbolic sculptures were exclusively employed. Thus, on St. Orlando's Stone there is a boat with a high-peaked prow, containing several persons ;⁵ and in the curious piece of sculpture figured in the sub-joined engraving, we have a representation of the use of the bow and arrow, and of a covered car drawn by two

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate CXIX.

² *Ibid.* Plates LXVI. LXXIII. LXXVIII.

³ *Ibid.* Plates LXXXIV. LXVIII. XLIII.

⁴ *Ibid.* Plates LXXIV. LXXX.

⁵ *Ibid.* Plate LXXXA

horses. This stone is now at Meigle, along with other reputed relics of the tomb of the frail Guanora, or Guinevere, Arthur's Queen, who, according to Hector Boece, was made captive by the Piets, after the defeat and death of Modred on the banks of the Humber, and passed the remainder of her life in the strong fortress of Dunbarré, or Barry Hill. Thus strangely do we find this romantic legend of the British Arthur, once familiar to medieval Europe, and now invested with renewed interest as one of the Idyls of our modern minstrel, located by popular tradition in the district of Strathmore. Mr. Patrick Chalmers conceived that little doubt could be enter-



FIG. 148.—Meigle Stone Car

tained of the reference to the monument at Meigle in the following note, under the year 1569, in the *Extracta e Cronica Scotiae*:—"At Newtylde¹ thair is ane stane, callit be sum the Thane Stane, iii eln of heicht, v quarteris braid, ane quarter thik and mair, with ane cors at the heid of it, and ane goddes next that in ane cairt, and twa hors drawand hir, and horsmen under that, and fuitmen and dogges, halkis and serpentis: on the west side of it, ane cors curiouslie grauit; bot all is maid of ane auld fassane of schap. It is allegit that the Thane of Glamis set thir tua stanis quhen that cuntrey wes all

¹ Newtyle and Meigle are villages within two miles of each other.

ane greit forrest." This description is of great value, not only as preserving a tradition associated with the stone at a period very near the time of Boece, yet differing entirely from his romantic tale of Queen Guanora, but much more so, in that it conveys a tolerably definite idea of what the monument actually was in the sixteenth century.

The traditions associated with those singular monuments, gathered directly from local traditions, or culled from the marvellous pages of monkish chroniclers, are equally contradictory and valueless as throwing any light on their origin, whether associated with King Arthur and his ravished Queen, or, like the remarkable Forres obelisk, popularly called King Sueno's Stone, believed to commemorate the final defeat and ejection of the Norsemen from the Scottish mainland. This beautiful monument, which measures twenty-three feet in height, has been repeatedly engraved :—by Gordon, on a sufficiently large scale, but with little attempt at accuracy of detail ; more carefully by Cordiner in his *Scottish Antiquities* ; and now, with trustworthy minuteness, in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

There can be no question that many of those monuments were designed to commemorate particular events, though they have long since proved faithless to their trust. The Forres pillar called "Sueno's Stone," bears unmistakable evidence of the commemoration of some great victory, long prior to the era of Danish invasion ; and the sculptures of the Dunkeld Stone, also exhibiting piles of human heads and headless trunks, is doubtless another historical record of triumph over some notable enemy. Some at least of the hunting scenes, we may well believe, commemorate the deeds of mighty hunters, once celebrated in songs as heart-stirring as the old ballad of Chevy Chase. Most of such deeds, however, would probably be of less real interest to us now than the minute

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and varied information still recoverable from those artistic memorials of primitive times. We see on them the warrior on horseback and on foot, armed with sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and dirk, and bearing on his arm a circular buckler closely resembling the later Highland target. The accoutrements for the chase, and the robes of official rank and domestic life, with their accompanying arts, are illustrated with equal minuteness; and the rites of Pagan as well as Christian worship appear to be commemorated. The sacrificial ox is led in procession, or at the moment of slaughter; the priests appear seated in judgment; and the tonsured ecclesiastics of the new faith are introduced with book and candle, surrounded by emblems of the fall and redemption of man. The bishops wear low mitres, and carry the pastoral crook. The priests are clad in a variety of costume, with cowl, hood, fibulæ, and long robe; and shod at times with high-heeled shoes of peculiar fashion. Trumpets, harps, and other musical instruments are repeatedly introduced, and in more than one sculptured compartment the minstrel is represented seated and playing on a harp of large size.¹ In the hunting and hawking scenes, the hounds and beasts of the chase are sculptured with great spirit, and occasionally with incidental details: as where the animals are represented making their way through a thicket, or the huntsman is exposed to the assaults of the wild boar or the bear. There is, moreover, a peculiar style running throughout the whole of the sculptures, and a certain action and contour in the figures and animals, which mark them with as distinctive a character as belongs to any mediæval or modern school of art. The engraving on Plate XIV. represents one of the most elaborate of these Pictish hunting scenes, fully answering to the description of the old Scottish chronicler, of "horsemen,

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates LVIII. XCII.

fruitmen and dogges, halkis and serpentis." It occurs on what is believed to have formed part of a stone coffin, dug up in the immediate vicinity of St. Regulus's Church at St. Andrews, and now preserved in the University Museum there; though Mr. Gibb, the intelligent artist by whom the drawings of it were executed for the Spalding Club, adopted the opinion, as the result of careful examination, that the elaborately sculptured stones are fragments of a more ancient cross or pillar, converted by unskilled workmen to their later use as a sarcophagus. Along with this slab, which measures about three and a half feet long, various smaller ones were found, including what appear to have formed one end, and part of the other, of the same sarcophagus or monument. Both of these are covered with intricate knotwork, and in the more perfect of the two there are four compartments, two of which are occupied each with a pair of apes, and the others with globes encircled with serpents. Not the least curious feature of this elaborate design is the introduction of well-executed apes and other animals, which we should have supposed entirely unknown to the native sculptor. Besides these, the ram, the horse and hawk, the fawn, the greyhound pursuing the fox in the thicket, and the tiger or leopard, as the fierce assailant of the horseman seems to be, are all executed with great fidelity and spirit. In addition to those there is a nondescript monster, a sort of winged griffin, preying upon a prostrate fawn or ass. But by far the most valuable portions of this curious design are the human figures, with their variety of character and costume. Here manifestly is the Patrician, with his long locks and flowing robes, and his richly decorated dirk at his side, while the plebeian huntsman betrays his humble rank, not only in his closely cropped hair and homely accoutrements, but even in the lean and half-bred cur which forms his companion in the

chase. But the engraving will furnish a more satisfactory idea of these curious details than any description could convey.

The most common decoration on the more elaborate examples of this remarkable class of Scottish monuments, apart from the symbols and sculptured figures so frequently introduced, is the interlaced knotwork which appears to have been so favourite a device of Celtic art. It is to be seen on the sculptures, the jewelry, the manuscripts, and the decorated shrines and book-cases of early Irish Christian art, and has been perpetuated almost to our own day on the weapons and personal ornaments of the Scottish Highlanders. It constantly occurs on their



FIG. 140.—Powder-horn.

brooches, and is a favourite ornamentation of their drinking and powder-horns; as on the fine example of the latter, accompanying the initials and date A. R. 1685, engraved here from the original in the possession of Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A. The same style of ornament was invariably employed in decorating the handle of the dirk and knife, and may be traced on most of the Highland targets preserved among memorials of the field of Culloden. But, while it is thus shown to be common to the Celtic artists of Scotland and Ireland from the sixth to the eighteenth century: the monuments on which it occurs as an accompaniment of the peculiar symbols and sculptures already described, belong exclu-

sively to one limited Scottish area, and to a period which came to a close not later than the ninth century.

In considering the peculiar features of the ancient sculptured standing-stones, their epigraphy attracts us by the same definite characteristics which ever pertain to literate records even when graven in an unknown tongue. The inscriptions on the various sculptured and memorial stones are of distinct and well-defined classes, including the Ogham or Celtic Runes, common to Scotland, Wales,

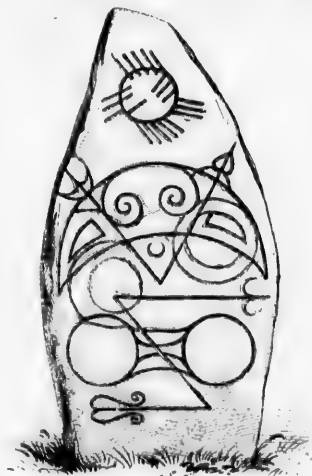


FIG. 150.—Loche Ogham Stone.

and Ireland; the Roman uncials introduced by the legionary invaders, and the first Christian missionaries; the Anglo-Saxon Runes brought from the home of the old Saxon beyond the German Ocean; the Northern Runes of the Scandinavian colonists; the later characters retained as the Irish alphabet, but once common to Christian Celt, Anglo-Saxon, and Dane; and the familiar alphabet finally adopted throughout medieval Europe. But those of the monuments now under review have the additional value resulting from great rarity. Of the

Ogham inscriptions of Scotland only six are known, one of which has already been referred to as occurring, along with the supposed Phœnician record on the Newton Stone. Another (Fig. 150) is on an unhewn slab at Logie, in the Garioch, which originally formed one of a group on the moor of Carden. Its brief but unintelligible record is curiously arranged on a circle as the stem-line, and, more than any other of the Scottish Oghams, looks a part of the original graving; though in this case it occurs, along with the peculiar symbols, on what appears to be among the most primitive of the Pagan monuments of its class. The brief Ogham inscriptions of Ireland have generally been rendered into proper names in the genitive case; and as that on the Ogham Stone of Logie consists of only seven characters, it may be presumed to correspond to them. Another inscription in this character is cut, not on the edge, but intermingling with an elaborate hunting scene, on the face of a remarkable symbolic stone dug up at Scoonie, in Fife-shire, since the publication of Mr. Stuart's elaborate volume. The one side is occupied with the cross; and on the other face three mounted huntsmen are represented, accompanied with their hounds, in pursuit of a stag. An important space is filled up with the symbolic "elephant;" and on a stem-line cut down the one side, and running through, but without defacing the hunting scene, is an Ogham inscription; not improbably added by a later hand than that of the original sculptor. Another of the Scottish Oghams is cut on the bead-moulding round the edge of one of the most remarkable of the symbolic stones at Golspie, in Sutherlandshire, and also looks to me like a subsequent addition.¹ On one side the cross is wrought with a variety of beautiful interlaced patterns, and on the other is a man engaged

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate XXXIV.

in combat with an animal of no very clearly defined species. He is armed with an axe of singular form in his right hand, and a knife in his left, and is surrounded with the principal symbols already described. Indeed, as the animal he contends with stands on a fish, supported by a group of other mystic devices, and his foot rests on two entwined snakes, the whole design is highly suggestive of a mythological allegory. The two remaining Ogham inscriptions occur on the edges of an elaborately sculptured slab of chlorite slate, found in the island of Bressay, in Shetland, the character of which is shown in the accompanying engraving of its more elaborately sculptured side, Plate xv. Interlaced circles of different patterns are partially wrought into a cruciform arrangement on each side; and the principal front is surmounted by dragons or serpents devouring a man, in accordance with the devices on several of the Pictish stones. The remaining surface is filled up with figures of ecclesiastics, animals, and grotesque monstrosities, in a style which Dr. Charles Graves pronounces to be thoroughly Irish. But it appears to have escaped his notice, as well as that of Mr. Stuart and others who have described this interesting monument,¹ that though of a late character, and partaking of the style of the Celtic Christian monuments of Scotland and Ireland, it includes among its devices one of the symbols which confer so peculiar and distinctive an interest on the Scottish sculptured stones. This has, I presume, been looked upon as a mere piece of meaningless ornamentation filling up the space below the mounted figure and the ecclesiastic standing behind; but had this been the case it would have been carried over below the left-hand figure. It is apparently a variation of the z symbol, and occurs in the same rectangular form **⚡** on the Monymusk, Ulster,

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates xciv. xcv.

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BRESSAY OGHAM STONE.

Docton, and Kingoldrum stones.¹ The Bressay stone is thus connected with the peculiar class of symbolic monuments, and supplies to all appearance one of the latest traces of the intermingling of their mysterious devices with the well-defined evidences of Christian art. The Ogham inscription has been carefully studied by the distinguished palæographer Dr. Graves, and was made the subject of a communication to the Archæological Institute in 1855,² in which, assuming the existence of a Celtic dialect corrupted by admixture with that of the insular Norsemen, he is stated to have interpreted one of the Ogham legends thus : CROSC NAHDFDADS DATR ANN, *i.e.*, *The cross of Natdodd's daughter [is] here [placed]*. The Oghams on the opposite edge he reads : BENNRES MECCU DROI ANN, *i.e.*, *Benres of the sons of the Druid [lies] here*. This reading is supposed to find confirmation from the historical identification of the persons referred to. In Natdodd, a famous sea-king of the Faroe Islands and the discoverer of Iceland is recognised, who had a grandson named Benir ; the Bennres MacDruid of the second inscription. Hildegunda, his daughter, is alluded to as a witch in the Landnámabok ; and to the reputed magical powers of the race the patronymic of Benir may have been due. But the reading has not been published authoritatively by Dr. Graves, and the supposed admixture of Irish and Norse is neither in accordance with philological analogies, nor confirmed by other traces of the insular dialects. The interpretations must therefore be regarded as tentative, and subject to future revision.

At Papa Stronsay, in Orkney, a small squared slab of slate-stone was dug up on the site of the ancient church

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates VIII. XL. LIV. LXXXIX.

² *Gentleman's Mag.*, New Series, vol. xlv. p. 80 ; *Archæol. Jour.* vol. xviii. p. 181 ; *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 150.

of St. Bride, carved with a decorated cross surmounted by the simple dedication in the Irish character : ANGELL.¹ The same familiar character is employed in another inscription, which possesses a peculiar interest as probably preserving to us the only authentic literate memorial of the Scottish Picts. The piquant version of the Pictish controversy which Scott has immortalized in his *Antiquary*, scarcely exaggerates the acrimony with which Ritson, Pinkerton, and other Oldbucks and Wardours of a past age made the scanty fragments of the Pictish vocabulary the battle-ground for literary duel. The discovery, therefore, of an inscription on the St. Vigean's Stone—one of the most characteristic monuments of a class peculiar to the ancient Pictish region, of which Forfarshire is a central district,—is well calculated to revive interest and diversity of opinion among all by whom the true issue is correctly appreciated. Mr. W. F. Skene, by whom its interpretation was first attempted, read it thus, — *uoret et p pcur*; deriving his knowledge of its palæography from a cast of the original inscription. This he assumed to be an old Forfarshire dialect of the Gaelic, written apparently by ecclesiastics, as shown by the use of a Latin derivation, in the conjunction *ett*; and as thus read, it accords with the most common formula of contemporary Irish inscriptions. *Aroiten* is supposed to be a Forfar or Pictish plural form of the common *or*, or *orait*, the *orationes* of Erse epigraphy. The form *araut* occurs in one of the oldest Gaelic MSS. *Uoret* is the Pictish form of the Gaelic proper name Ferat; which in Welsh would become GnoRET. Forcus, on the contrary, is a pure Gaelic form, of what would become in the Welsh *Giorgust*; or if the final letter be read *p* instead of *p*, it will read Forcur, or Fearchair: the simple formula is thus: *Prayers for Veret and*

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXII.

Fergus or Fearchair. Since the publication of this version of the inscription,¹ Mr. Skene informs me that he has visited St. Vigean for the express purpose of examining the original inscription. It is not very favourably placed for close inspection, and has not escaped the defacing touch of time. But the result of a minute study of the characters has satisfied him of his correct rendering of them, with the exception of a single letter in the fourth word, which he now reads *et*; though without suggesting a new interpretation for it. Meanwhile this brief but highly interesting inscription attracted the attention of various scholars; and Dr. J. H. Todd, writing to me in 1852, remarks,—“I have not met any competent Irish antiquary who doubts for a moment that the first word is *Drosten*, but the rest of the inscription I confess baffles us.” The name *Drust*, or *Drostan*, is one which repeatedly occurs in the lists of the Pictish kings; so that it furnishes at once a most suggestive and tempting clue to a diverse mode of interpretation. This accordingly Dr. J. Y. Simpson has availed himself of to produce a highly ingenious version of the Forfarshire Pictish, as a dialect deriving its forms, as in the *Aber* and *Pean-fahel* or *Benval*, from the Welsh. He reads the inscription thus:—*opropen ipe uopet elc popcup. Ipe* is the supposed Pictish equivalent of the Welsh *ap*; *uab*: *uabion*; *ap*: *ipion*; the equivalent of the Gaelic *Mac* or *Vich*. *Elt* in like manner becomes a Pictish form of *helyth*; *elyt*, a stock or race. Thus the whole will read: *DROSTEN, SON OF UOPET, OF THE RACE OF FERGUS.* The chief difficulty in the way of the acceptance of this singularly happy rendering arises from the inflexional forms of Gaelic names. *Drust*, *dim.* *Drostan*, *gen.* *Drosto*; *Fergus*, *gen.* *Fergusa*; and perhaps also, from the use of Gaelic instead of Welsh forms of proper

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. i. p. 82.

names, where the inscription is otherwise assumed to be of Cymric affinity. But with the extremely limited knowledge we as yet have of the Pictish vocabulary, it would be presumptuous to determine its grammatical forms by Gaelic affinities. From the character of the letters on the St. Vigean's inscription, which closely corresponds with the palæography of Bede's autograph *History* in the Library of Durham Cathedral, Dr. Simpson is inclined to recognise the Drostan of the inscription in the Drust King of the Picts, who was slain at the battle of Drumderg, A.D. 729. He is the only one of that name whose father is not designated in the Pictish genealogies. But in three of the lists, viz., the Register of St. Andrews and those of Fordun and Wyntoun, the name is not Drostan, but Garnet, son of Veret, probably a surname of the same person; as is the case with Drust 1. "Dirst qui alias vocabatur Nectan."¹

Other inscribed stones belonging to the same Pictish district of Scotland are referred to in the notices of early date; but so far as at present appears, the St. Vigean's inscription is the only one which now remains accessible, as the solitary remnant of a class of historical and philological memorials so peculiarly valuable for the glimpses they supply to the ethnologist.

Among those lost monuments is one alluded to by Bellenden, where he thus translates Boece in his account of the retreating Danes at the Battle of Barry:—"Ane other cumpany of Danis, fleand in the samin maner, war slane at Abirlemnon, not iv milis fra Breechin, quhare ane gret stane is ingravin with crafty letteris, to advertis the passengeris of the anciant and illuster dedis done be our eldaris aganis the Danis." Thus ancient are the associations of those monuments with the traditions of

¹ Fordun (*vide* Pinkerton), 300. Garnaith is also called Nectan in four of the lists.

Danish defeat; but though two remarkable crosses still stand at Aberlemno, no traces of any inscribed stone are now apparent.

Inscriptions in the same characters as those employed on the St. Vigean Stone occur in the Western Islands; but their correspondence in language and accompanying ornamentation to those on similar monuments in Ireland, indicates that their origin is traceable to a different source from that of the curiously-sculptured stones, which pertain almost exclusively to one Scottish district. Of the class now referred to are two inscribed slabs at

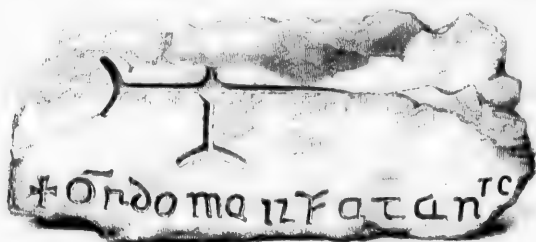


FIG. 151. — Bishop Patrick's Tomb, Iona.

Iona, adorned with simple crosses, and with inscriptions equally simple; though one of them has been the subject of so many conflicting speculations that Mr. Graham designates it "the disputed inscription."¹ The doubt as to its meaning is not diminished by his accompanying this title with the suggestion of a new reading, which assigns it to a Maedonald of the Glengary line, A.D. 1461. The inscription reads: ✠ Oĩ do maĩ Fatarick, or, *A Prayer for Mail Fatarick*. Its modest memorial is sufficiently indefinite, yet it may be assumed as perhaps marking the tomb of Bishop Patrick, whose demise is thus recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under A.D. 1174: "Mail Patrick O'Banan, Bishop of Conor and Dal Araidhe, a venerable man, full

¹ *Monuments of Iona*, by H. D. Graham, Esq., p. 16.

of sanctity, meekness, and purity of heart, died happily in Hy of Columkille, at a good old age."¹ Another rude unsquared slab, with a slightly ornamented cross, bears the still simpler inscription : $\text{O}\bar{\text{p}} \text{ a}\bar{\text{p}} \text{ ammm Eogam}$, *A Prayer for the soul of Eogain.*²

At Kirkmadrine, in the parish of Stoney-Kirk, Wigtonshire, two inscribed stones, of a date probably not later than the seventh century, illustrate another stage of Christian epigraphy. The *abarum*, or $\chi \rho$, and ι , the abbreviated $\text{X}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ of the old imperial symbol, is enclosed in a circle, and surmounted by the Alpha and Omega, $\text{A ET } \Omega$. The inscriptions commemorate the sepulture of certain ecclesiastics associated with the early history of native Christianity. The stones are mutilated, but the sharply-cut lettering leaves no doubt as to the reading, where the original surface remains. On the one, all that is now legible is . . . S ET FLORENTIVS ; but the other is still clearly decipherable thus : HIC IACENT S $\bar{\text{C}}\text{I}$ ET PRAECIPVI SACERDOTES ID ES[T] VIVENTIVS ET MAVORIVS.

The sacred cemeteries of Iona, to which reference has been already made, abound with crosses and sepulchral slabs of various dates and styles of art, but generally without inscriptions to preserve the memory of those whose ashes repose beneath. Several of the stones decorated with crosses, incised or in relief, which lie scattered among the mounds of the RELIG ORAN, belong apparently to the same period as those inscribed with the names of Eogain and Mail Fataric ; and tempt the fancy to appropriate them to historical or legendary occupants of St. Oran's Burial Ground : that sacred spot, the

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, translated by Owen Connellan, Esq., p. 8.

² In the former edition this is read *armin*, the chief ; but *Eogain* is in the genitive, and therefore cannot be in apposition with the previous word ; and the formula as now given is borne out by several Irish examples.

resting-place of saints, and kings, and old island chiefs, so deeply interesting to every Scottish heart. Many of the tombs of a later date are ornamented with figures and floriated patterns in relief, characterized by singular beauty and great variety of design. The style of ornamentation on some of these is peculiar to the Western Isles and the neighbouring Scottish mainland; but justice has already been done to them in the *Antiquities of Iona* of Mr. H. D. Graham; and another volume, now in progress under the efficient editorial care of Mr. John Stuart, designed as a sequel to that of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, will embrace this beautiful class of monuments, so that it is unnecessary to resort to the less intelligible process of verbal description. The intermingling of foliage, scroll-work, chain-work, geometric patterns, and knot-work, with animals, figures, and sacred or warlike implements, is characterized by a profuseness and variety of design such as the sepulchral monuments of scarcely any other single locality or age can equal. The greater number of them, however, belong to a more modern period than that now under consideration, and well-ascertained dates fix the era of some of the most remarkable of these monuments so late as from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The accompanying illustration supplies a characteristic example, in the mutilated cross of Lauchlan M'Fingon, the father of Abbot John of Iona. The Abbot died A.D. 1500, and had a more important tomb, adorned with his recumbent figure in full canonicals, within the cathedral, though his name is included on the cross in St. Oran's Chapel, probably erected by himself. It is a valuable illustration for our present purpose, as the inscription and date are still perfectly legible: ✚ Hee : est : Crux : Lacclanni : Meic : Fingone : et : eius : filii : Johannis : abbatis : de : Hy : facta : anno : domini : M° : cccc° : lxxx° : ix°. The *lymphad*, which

figures as one of the heraldic quarterings of the Mac kinnons, is indeed believed to have been derived from



FIG. 102. Iona Cross.

the Northmen; but in the form it assumes on this and other Iona sculptures, it bears as little resemblance to the long-oared war-galley, so frequently engraved on native Scandinavian monuments and relics, as the accompanying ornaments do to any known device of northern origin. The late era to which some of the most characteristic of those sculptures belong, should alone suffice to disprove the idea "that the Scandinavians were the authors of this particular kind of art exhibited by the stone crosses, as also by the sepulchral monuments of Argyleshire."¹ No such monuments are to be found in any of the Scandinavian kingdoms, and since the style must have arisen somewhere, it is surely not more difficult to conceive of its origin in Scotland than in Norway, Sweden, or Denmark. In so far as it is derived, its suggestive originals appear to have been much more Irish than Scandinavian.

Its peculiar individuality, however, arises from the same

¹ *Antiquities of Argyleshire, Trans. Camb. Camden Soc., Part III. p. 177.*

cause as the very singular characteristics of Irish ecclesiology. Both Scotland and Ireland stood more apart than most countries of Christendom, from the Crusades and others of the great movements which conferred so remarkable a homogeneity on medieval Europe. The earlier arts were consequently left there to develop new forms and modifications long after they had been elsewhere entirely superseded by the later styles of medieval art. At the period to which the beautiful monuments of Argyleshire are chiefly referrible, that district stood singularly isolated, sharing only very partially even in the influences of Scottish art, and still less in its social progress, while at the same time the sanctity indissolubly associated with its ancient shrines kept alive the spirit in which these originated. Scarcely any circumstances can be conceived more favourable for the development of a new style of art; and hence not only the peculiarity, but the endless variety discoverable on the monuments of Argyleshire, and especially on those of the Relig Oran of Iona: that historic ground, and the moss-grown sculptures with which it is paved, where

“ You never tread upon them but you set
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CHAPTER III.

THE NORRIE'S LAW RELICS.

THE most remarkable discovery of ancient personal ornaments and other relics of a remote period ever made in Scotland, was that of "THE SILVER ARMOUR OF NORRIE'S LAW," a tumulus or artificial mound which stands on the marches of the two estates of Teasses and Largo, in Fifeshire. The correspondence of the engraved devices on two of the silver relics with the mysterious symbols which constantly recur on the sculptured standing-stones of Scotland, has served, along with the singular character and great beauty of some of the ornaments, to confer on this discovery an interest attached to no other Scottish hoard. This feeling has not been lessened by the fact that only a very few of these precious relics have been preserved; while the imperfect, vague, and probably exaggerated descriptions of such as were destroyed, have increased the sense of disappointed curiosity and regret with which archaeologists refer to the discovery.

The Bay of Largo, on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth, is a large and well-sheltered inlet, furnishing the most accessible position for safe anchorage and haven near the mouth of the Firth. In the sandy slope near the shore, at the head of the bay, the beautiful gold armilke were found, in 1848, which have been already figured and described among the relics of a remoter

period than that of which we now treat.¹ The remarkable tumulus which furnished the silver ornaments now referred to is situated on the estate of Largo, about three miles from the bay, and was affirmed, according to local traditions, to cover the chief of a great army, buried there with his steed, and armed in panoply of massive silver. Instances of the like popular belief have occasionally received such remarkable confirmation, that they cannot be pronounced by the archæologist as altogether valueless.² In this case, however, it may admit of doubt if the origin of the tradition be not subsequent to the discovery. The Old Statistical Account refers to a tradition, that the stones of Lundin "are the grave-stones of some Danish chiefs who fell in battle with the Scots near the place;"³ but the only allusion made to Norrie's Law is to be gathered from an addition to the description of Largo Law, a well-known hill which rises about eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, and formed of old one of the most prominent beacon-hills of Fife. "Besides this," the statist remarks, "there are two other Laws. But it is evident that these have been artificial. When the cairn was removed from one of them a few years ago, a stone coffin was found at the bottom. From the position of the bones it appeared that the person had been buried in a singular manner: the legs and arms had been carefully severed from the trunk, and laid diagonally across it."⁴

The precise facts connected with the opening of the tumulus of Norrie's Law, and even the year in which it occurred, are very uncertain, though the person by whom the valuable hoard was purloined still resides, in good circumstances, at Pitlessie in Fife. Conscious as he is of the appropriation of treasure which was not his own,

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 467.

³ *Sinclair's Statist. Acc.* iv. 546.

² *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 259.

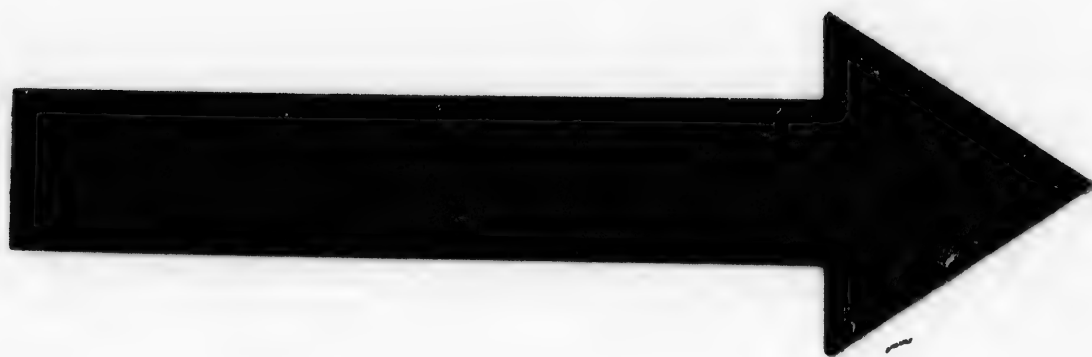
⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 538.

and not yet entirely free from apprehension of the interference of the Scottish Exchequer to reclaim the fruits of his ill-gotten wealth, he naturally declines much communication on the subject; and thus, as too frequently resulted from the operation of the old Scottish law of treasure-trove, the history of the discovery is involved in impenetrable mystery. It may be permitted us to reflect with some satisfaction, that, by the fears thus excited, the depredator has not entirely escaped punishment for the irreparable mischief which his wretched cupidity has occasioned.

So far as can now be ascertained, in or about the year 1817 an opening was made in the tumulus of Norrie's Law by a hawker or pedlar who frequented the district, and it is possible may have had his attention attracted to the mound by the popular tradition already referred to, which, if it then existed, could scarcely escape him in his annual rounds of the parish. A stone cist was exposed within the tumulus, containing, it is said, no bones or other indications of human remains; but either in or near it were found the silver relics, which the discoverer removed piecemeal, and sold, as opportunity offered, to various silversmiths, to be melted down and destroyed. In 1839, upwards of twenty years after this remarkable discovery, the attention of Mr. George Buist of Cupar was directed to the subject, in consequence of discovering that among a few fragments of the original hoard which had been rescued by General Durham, the proprietor of the estate, there were relics marked with the same peculiar symbols which form so singular a characteristic of the sculptured standing-stones of Scotland. Mr. Buist was then engaged in investigating this remarkable class of antiquities, and to the report which he published we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge we now possess regarding "The Silver Armour of

Norrie's Law." Mr. Buist, with much industry and perseverance, gathered such information as was then recoverable from persons cognizant of the discovery, and in particular obtained from the country silversmith, who had been one of the chief purchasers of the stolen treasure, the following notes of various sales, by which we obtain a very satisfactory means of estimating the great extent and value of the original deposit:—

"For the information in regard to the lost portion of the Norrie's Law armour, I have been indebted to Mr. R. Robertson, jeweller, Cupar, or to individuals to whom I have been by him referred. Mr. Robertson first made a purchase of £5, subsequently two of £10, and knew of another, made by some one about Edinburgh, to the amount of about £20, and is under the belief that perhaps as much as that here accounted for may have been carried away, and bestowed on various uses. This, by rough computation, may, together with what remains, be reckoned not much under 400 ounces of pure bullion. Mr. Robertson has, as may be readily supposed, a peculiarly distinct recollection of the forms of the various portions of the armour procured by him, and gives a most vivid description, in particular, of the rich carving of the shield, the helmet, and the sword-handle, which were brought to him crushed in pieces, to permit convenient transport and concealment. . . . A considerable part of the armour was partially corroded, the alloy having been eaten away as if by some weak acid, exactly after the manner of that employed in certain operations of modern silversmiths. The bullion in this case was much more pure than in those cases where it remained solid and untouched. It was, in fact, reduced to the state of porous, brittle, spongy silver. The parts chiefly affected in this way were those lowest down, which seem to have suffered from long exposure to some subtle corrosive. The upper portions



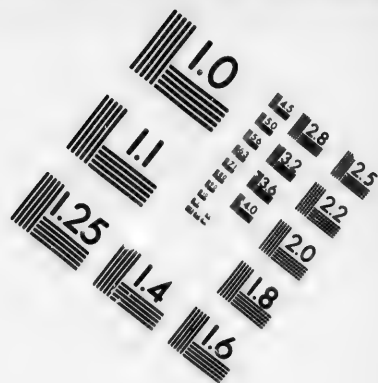
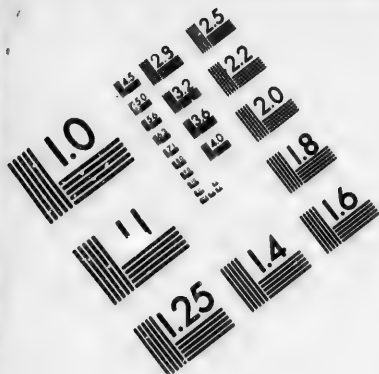
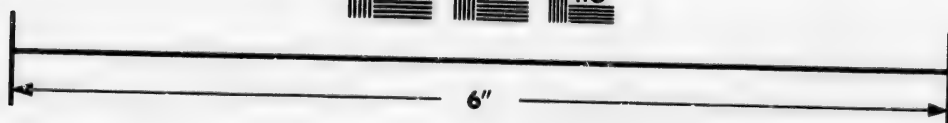
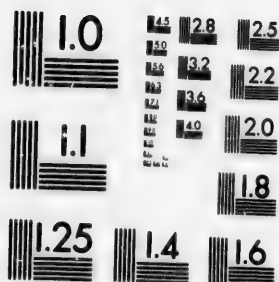


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were fresh, compact, and entire. In them the silver was nearly the same as our present standard."¹

The report from which the above is extracted is illustrated with lithographic drawings of the relics in the possession of General Durham, and also with representations of the shield and sword-hilt, drawn apparently from the recollections of the silversmith. But even when brought to him, crushed and broken, it must have been difficult to form a just opinion of their original appearance; and, after the lapse of upwards of twenty years, any attempt to recover their precise form or details from memory must be utterly worthless. Judging, indeed, from the fragments which remain, it may even admit of doubt if these silver relics ever included any armour or weapons of war. In 1849, Mrs. Durham of Largo House entrusted the silver ornaments rescued by General Durham to the care of Mr. Albert Way, for exhibition at a meeting of the Archæological Institute; and through the liberality of the Council, I am enabled to avail myself of the engravings then made from them. Profound as the regret must ever be with which this discovery is referred to, it is yet no slight matter of congratulation that even those few memorials of so remarkable a sepulchral deposit remain to furnish evidence of its character, and the period to which it belongs. They were mostly picked up by the brother-in-law of the tenant, and another person, both now deceased; having, it may be presumed, been dropped by their original discoverer in his secret and guilty haste. The inquiry instituted by Mr. Buist led to the recovery of one of the bodkins, and also of one of the engraved scale plates mentioned in the following description. He also mentions, among the reported contents of the mound, "a considerable number of coins,

¹ Report on the Silver Fragments in the possession of General Durham, Largo, commonly called the Silver Armour of Norrie's Law. Cupar, 1839.

now wholly lost sight of, said to have borne these symbolic markings." But one coin, now in the possession of Miss Dundas of Largo, and obtained by her from the original spoiler of the hoard, proves to be of the Emperor Valentin, and furnishes, along with others to be noticed, an important clue to the probable era of the whole.

The most interesting of the Norrie's Law relics are two leaf-shaped plates of silver, engraved with some of the symbols of such frequent occurrence on Scottish sculptured standing-stones. One of these monuments was found in fragments on the Largo estate, and, through the good taste of the late General Durham, has been reunited, and erected upon a pedestal near the spot where it was discovered. It is a well-executed piece of sculpture of the later class, bearing on one side the figure of a cross, and on the other, horsemen, dogs, and other animals, most prominent among which is the symbolic "elephant," so frequently introduced among the mystic devices of those strange memorials.¹ Though without the corresponding symbols which confer so great an interest on the silver relics found in its vicinity, this monument is of value, as furnishing independent evidence of the prevalence of the same arts in this locality at the dawn of the Scottish Christian Period. The two leaf-shaped plates, one of which has already been figured,² are almost precisely similar. On one, the marginal line is wanting which appears in the representation given in the previous chapter, but some indications seem to show that it has been erased. The devices on both are deeply engraved, and it is possible may have been enamelled. Mr. Buist describes, in his report, small lozenge-shaped plates of silver, which formed part of a rich coat of scale-armour: referring, there can be little doubt, to these leaf-shaped plates, both of which he has figured. The one already

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXVI.

² *Ante*, p. 222.

engraved, the size of the original, weighs 598 grains ; the other corresponds in size, but is somewhat above eighty grains lighter in weight. But there is no indication of any means by which to attach them to the dress, or unite them in a suit of armour, for which, indeed, they are altogether unfitted. The spirally decorated bosses at the ends are concave on the under side, and present no appearance of having ever had anything attached to them. The original destination of these singular relics is, indeed, involved in the same mystery as the peculiar symbols with which they are engraved.

Next in interest to the scale plates of silver are a pair of bodkins, measuring in length rather more than six and a half inches, and engraved here the size of the originals. They are both alike, with the exception that on the reverse side of one is an imperfect indication of the z symbol, the figure of which is interrupted by the attachment of the pin. The form of the head is peculiar, though not unique. Pins of nearly similar fashion are found in Ireland, and belong to a class to which Dr. Wilde applies the term hammer-headed.¹ A bodkin of this type, in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, is almost precisely the same in form and dimensions, and only differs in the ornament introduced in the front of the head.² Another example, found at Lagore, County Meath,³ though inferior in point of workmanship, is equally valuable from the evidence it affords of the native origin of one at least of the Norrie's Law relics. The front of the head in the Largo bodkins is beautifully chased in the same style of ornament as the scale plates ; and the central projecting stud bears a Greek cross patée, introduced

¹ *Catalogue of R. I. A. Museum*, vol. i. p. 559.

² *Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient Irish*, by Joseph C. Walker, M.R.I.A. Dublin, 1788, p. 15, Plate II. No. 4.

³ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. vi. p. 105.

there, as on the Scottish sculptured stones, in connexion with the mysterious symbols. It is possibly a mere ornament, so that it does not necessarily connect the silver relics with the era of Christian art; but their style of workmanship accords with that of the highly sculptured stones, on which the cross occupies the most prominent place, and not with the rude pagan monoliths, on which the symbols appear alone. The mode of introducing the z symbol on the bodkin is peculiarly suggestive of its use as a charm, or occult sign. It is engraved where it was evidently not intended to be seen, and where, indeed, its form is by no means adapted as a decoration to the peculiar shape of the work on which it is introduced. The spiral ornaments on the opposite side are, on the contrary, arranged for effect; and though corresponding to those on the double circles of the scale plate, are suggestive only



FIG. 104. Silver Bodkin. Larau

of decorative design, the same peculiar form being greatly varied in pattern, and even frequently left blank on the sculptured stones. Another smaller pin of the same class, in the Durham collection, appears to have been jewelled, but is very imperfect. It measures one and a quarter inch in length.

Two ornaments, described by Mr. Buist as "circles or armlets," appear to be the large torquated ring fibulæ of a type common both in Irish and early Highland brooches. The most perfect of the two (Plate XVI. Fig. 154) measures five and three-quarter inches in diameter. The *acus* or tongue is wanting in both of them. The torquated hoop is a rare feature in such ornaments, and indeed is much seldomer found in works of silver than of gold. It is the simplest mode of ornamentation, and, though by no means inelegant, corresponds very imperfectly to the fully developed art indicated in other contents of the Largo tumulus.

It is less easy to assign a use for another of the Norrie's Law relics (Plate XVI. Fig. 155), a plate of silver measuring four and a half inches in greatest diameter, enriched with gracefully designed scrolls of different patterns, projecting upwards of a quarter of an inch. It appears to have been cast, and its workmanship evinces great metallurgic skill; but it is too imperfect to furnish any certain idea of the whole design, or to suggest the purpose for which it was made. It is obvious that the plate when complete had not been uniform; but this appears to be the object described in Mr. Buist's report as the mouthpiece of a sword-scabbard: his whole ideas having obviously been subordinated to the local belief in the "suit of silver armour" in which the mounted warrior was interred. There is, however, but little correspondence in it either to a modern sword-guard or the mouthpiece of its scabbard, and indeed it bears very

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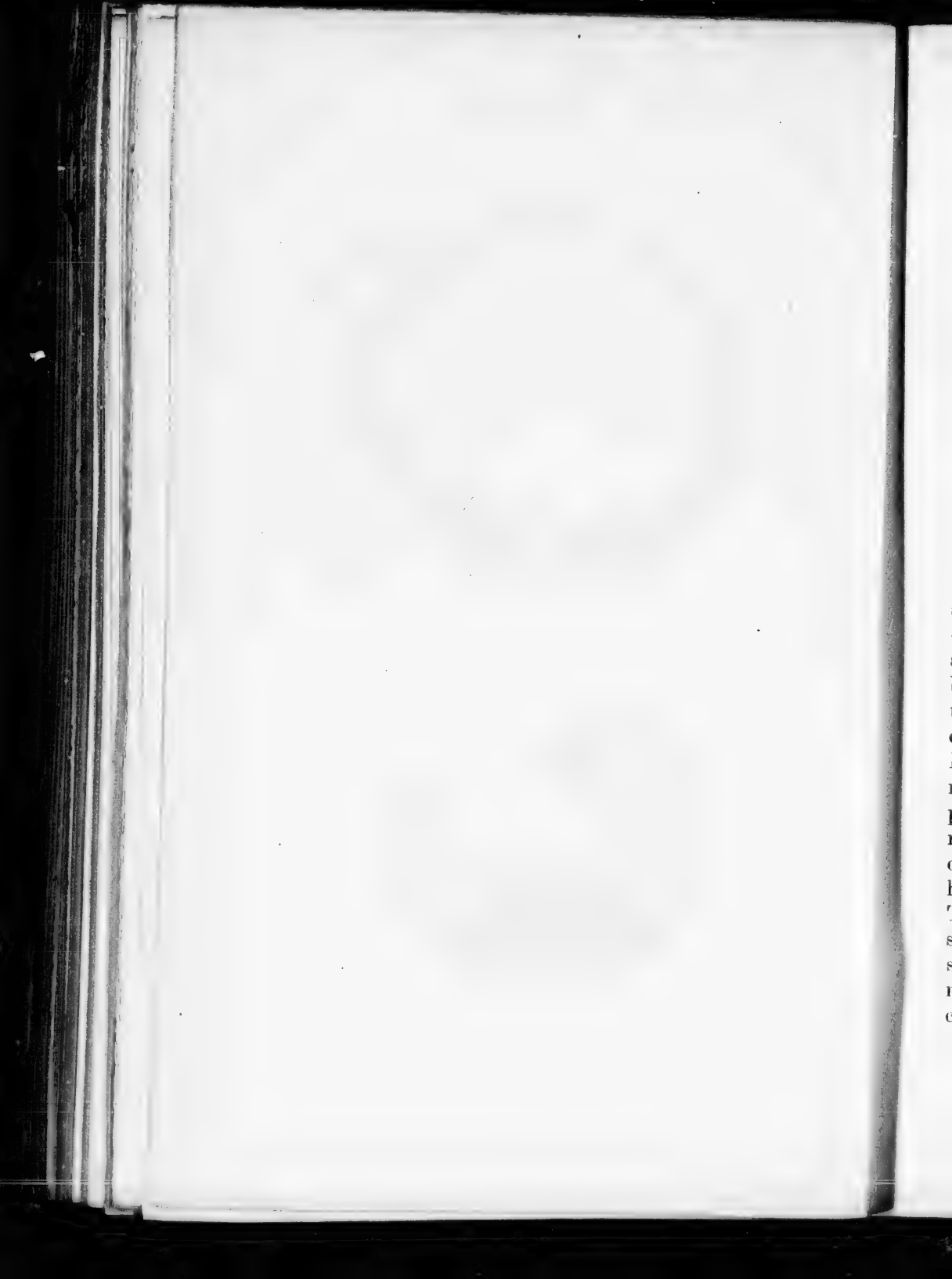
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FIG. 154.—Torquated Ring Fibula.



FIG. 155.—Embossed Silver Ornament.



slight resemblance to any known appendage of ancient weapons.

The remaining relics of this hoard include two fragments of armillæ, formed of plain silver plates, beaten out so as to present a convex outer face; an unornamented disk of the same metal; a double hook, one inch in length, in form of an S; a narrow band, like a riband of silver, about half an inch in width, and upwards of a yard long; a fragment of fine interlaced silver; and a spiral ring, almost precisely similar in form to one of bronze found in a cist near Edinburgh.¹ It weighs 120 grains, and is ornamented only with a minute serrated pattern, wrought along part of the inner edge of the spiral bar of silver towards either extremity.

Such are the few but valuable relics which have escaped the crucible, amounting altogether only to about twenty-four ounces out of the estimated 400 ounces of pure silver found in the Norrie's Law tumulus by its unprincipled ravisher. That they exhibit the high progress attained by native artists at the period to which they belong can hardly admit of doubt. The analogy which the forms both of the fibulæ and bodkins suggest—so clearly traceable to types of frequent occurrence in Ireland,—fully corresponds to the historic origin of the races and the arts of Scotland, already traced out in a previous chapter. But this only serves to increase the mysterious wonder with which we regard the peculiar and oft-repeated Scottish symbols, of which no single example has been discovered on any Irish monument or work of art. These devices, found only on the sculptured standing-stones and the earliest Christian monuments of Scotland, seem distinctly to refer the Norrie's Law relics to that native transition-period from the fourth to the eighth century, when Pagan and Christian rites were obscurely

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 474, Fig. 99.

mingled; and the revelations of the old sepulchral mound show that the anticipations of the dying warrior still derived their most vivid power from the heathen valhalla rather than the Christian paradise.

The narrative of Mr. Buist included a vague reference to numerous coins in the Norrie's Law hoard, described by him as graven with the same symbols as the sculptured stones; and he adds: "about forty of the same kind were found in an earthen pot at Pittenweem, in 1822." Since then, however, a clue has been obtained to the character of the coins. Mr. W. F. Skene has in his possession sketches of two, of the Roman Emperors Valens and Constantius II., which were retained by the original discoverer of the whole. In 1822, a labourer dug out of the sand, in the immediate vicinity of Norrie's Law, another collection, chiefly of Roman silver coins, including some late ones of the Lower Empire. The only specimens recovered from him were two Roman brass, one of Antonia, the daughter of Marc Antony the Triumvir, who was married to Drusus, and died A.D. 38; and the other a greatly defaced Byzantine coin, apparently about the time of Tiberius Constantine, who died A.D. 682. If the latter can be associated with the original contents of the tumulus, they bring down the date to the seventh or perhaps the eighth century.

The discovery of coins associated with native relics, and attaching to the cist and tumulus a precision of date akin to that of Roman epigraphy, is rare. Nevertheless those are by no means the only instances. Native coins of diverse types and periods have been recovered in similar deposits. The most primitive form of Scottish coinage is the simple gold pellet, usually marked with a cross in relief. The examples engraved (Fig. 156), the size of the originals, are from the remarkable hoard discovered

at Cairnmuir, Peeblesshire, in 1806.¹ They resemble two segments of a sphere irregularly joined, and appear to have been cast in a mould. Forty of the same simple class of early currency were found, along with what appears to have been a gold funicular tore, in the parish of Dolphinton, Lanarkshire, and marked, like those of Cairnmuir, "with the impression of a star."² Little hesitation can be felt in assigning to the same class a discovery in the parish of Dunnichen, Forfarshire, of "a number of small gold bullets, which seem to have been the current coin of the times when they were formed."³ A correspondent describes to me a quantity of silver coins recently found in a cist exposed on the demolition of a cairn on the lands of Sauchie, Stirlingshire:—"They were so thin that they readily broke in the work-



FIG. 156.—Cairnmuir Coins.

men's fingers; they seemed struck through from the back, and had figures only on the one side; some of them had loops to hang them by." The whole of these are now dispersed or lost, their ignorant discoverers having seemingly contented themselves with the interesting experiment of trying how readily they could break them in pieces. There can be little doubt from the description that they were silver bracteates; and if so, their loss is greatly to be regretted. The valuable numismatic collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland includes a few gold coins of the Gaulish type, believed to have been found in Scotland, but the history, or exact locality of the discovery of most of them is un-

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 464, 496.

² *New Statist. Acc.* vol. vi. p. 57.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xi. p. 146.

known. One, bearing the legend BODVOC, was found near Dumfries in 1861. Mr. Lindsay, in his *View of the Coinage of Scotland*, justly remarks on the neglect of the investigation of this interesting subject, which, until the publication of his work, had been carried no farther back than the reign of William the Lion. To this he has added the history of upwards of a century, and made us familiar with some interesting early types. The earliest of these are of the Crux type of Ethelred II., of whose coins they are evidently an imitation, and are ascribed to the Norwegian jarls of the Hebrides. In the autumn of 1782, some men engaged in clearing away the foundation of an old wall in the island of Tyrie, one of the Hebrides, found an urn containing from fifteen to twenty ounces of Anglo-Saxon silver coins in fine preservation, ninety of these are now in the Scottish Society's collection, and include silver pennies of Athelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwy, Eadgar, and Eadweard the Martyr. In 1850, a large hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins was discovered in the Isle of Skye: upwards of ninety fell into the hands of one individual, and a much greater number were dispersed. By far the greater number are stykas of Eadgar. Barry mentions two horns found at Caldale near Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, containing three hundred coins of Canute, including forty-two varieties of mints, with silver fibulæ and other relics, already described along with a more recent discovery of a similar kind.¹ To these also should be added the occasional discovery of Cufic coins, inscribed in the old Arabic character, and ranging from the latter end of the seventh to the close of the tenth century. One of these, a fine gold coin, was discovered in 1823, at a considerable depth, in digging a grave in the churchyard of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire;² and several of them,

¹ *Ante*, p. 132.

² *Minute of Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, June 2, 1828.

struck at Samarcand and Bagdad in the ninth and tenth centuries, lay alongside of contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins, in the valuable hoard of silver relics found at the Bay of Skaill, in Orkney, in 1858. The latter included funicular torcs, ring brooches, armillæ, and other silver ornaments of great value. In all the discoveries referred to it is of special importance to our present inquiries to note that coins and other undoubted evidences of a comparatively recent date are rarely, if ever, found with gold relics of archaic types. We rather see distinct reason to conclude that the stores of native gold and the direct sources of foreign supply were both greatly diminished, if not exhausted, at an earlier period; and that silver, which chiefly belongs to the Iron era, was the metal used for personal adornment when the peculiar native arts were developed which appear to belong to the dawn of the Scottish Christian Period. Whether derived from native or foreign sources, silver appears to have been then in greater abundance, and more lavishly employed for mere purposes of show than at any other period.

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CHAPTER IV.

SCOTO-SCANDINAVIAN RELICS.

FROM the slight historical sketch introduced in a preceding chapter, we perceive that the plundering expeditions of the Norse Vikings, and the establishment of Norwegian dominion by Harold in the Northern and Western Isles, were rapidly superseded by an independent Scoto-Norwegian kingdom, which diminished the direct intercourse with Scandinavia Proper, and led to some interfusion of the Celtic and Norse races. To this period, therefore, we must look for the introduction of pure Scandinavian antiquities into Scotland, and also for the production of those native relics which bear manifest traces of the influence of Scandinavian art. In the Western Isles especially, including Man, where the expatriated Vikings of Norway fixed their headquarters, and in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, where the first independent Scoto-Norwegian jarldoms were established, we may naturally look for many traces of such arts.

To this period belongs the very characteristic and beautiful ornament, usually designated the shell shaped brooch, which is equally familiar to Scandinavian and British antiquaries. In Scotland especially many beautiful examples have been found: several of them are preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, and from these the following is selected as surpassing

in beauty of design and intricacy of ornament any other example of which I am aware. It consists, as usual, of a convex plate of metal, with an ornamental border, surmounted by another convex plate of greater depth, highly ornamented with embossed and perforated designs, the effect of which appears to have been further heightened by the lower plate being gilded so as to show through the open work. In this example the gilding remains tolerably perfect. On the under side are the projecting plates still retaining a fragment of the corroded iron pin, where it has turned on a hinge, and at the opposite end is the bronze catch into which it clasped.



FIG. 157.—Caithness Shell Brooch.

The under side of the brooch appears to have been lined with coarse linen, the texture of which is clearly defined on the coating of verd antique with which it is now covered. But its peculiar features consist of an elevated central ornament resembling a crown, and four intricately chased projections terminating in horses' heads. It was found in September 1786, along with another brooch of the same kind, lying beside a skeleton, under a flat stone, very near the surface, above the ruins of a Pictish house or burgh, in Caithness. It measures nearly four and a half inches in length, by three inches in breadth, and two and two-fifth inches in height to the

top of the crown. Like others of the same type, it appears to have been jewelled. In several examples of these brooches which I have compared, the lower convex plates so nearly resemble each other, as to suggest the probability of their having been cast in the same mould, while the upper plates entirely differ. ✓

The oval brooches are most frequently found in pairs, and may be presumed to have been worn on the front of the shoulders or breast, as shown in a curious piece of sculpture, evidently of nearly the same period, which is



FIG. 128. Sculpture of Invergowrie.

built into the church wall of Invergowrie.¹ It represents, apparently, three dignitaries, probably priests, as two of them hold books in their hands. The two outer figures are adorned with large brooches on their shoulders, while the central, and perhaps more important figure, is without them, but wears instead a circular ornament on the lower front of his garment. Along with the pairs of oval brooches, a third is frequently found, flat and some-

¹ *Ancient Sculptured Monuments of Angus*, Plate XXII. *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXXXIII.

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times trefoiled. One of these, referred to more particularly on a subsequent page, found along with a pair of oval brooches, in a barrow on the Island of Westray, in 1839, was first observed on the exposure of the skeleton, apparently laid on the abdomen, while the others were beside the ribs, as if worn on the breast. Other examples have been discovered in various localities, and are preserved, both in public and private collections,¹ but none that I have seen appear to equal in elaborateness or beauty of design the Caithness brooch figured above.

The earliest incidents of the Scoto-Scandinavian period are those connected with rapine and slaughter; and to the fierce Vikings were due the repeated destruction of the first Christian settlements, and the erasure of the accompanying progress of arts and social refinement. But this was speedily succeeded by permanent colonization, and the rapid development of a native civilisation; so that the period is peculiarly rich in literate traces of great historic value. Coins, graven relics, inscriptions, poems, and chronicles, the works of the race which first became known only by its barbarian violence, all combine to illuminate the obscure period of Scottish history from the ninth to the eleventh century. But among those, the most remarkable relic hitherto discovered is the beautiful Runic brooch, engraved on Plate XVII., which forms the frontispiece to this volume. It was found in the autumn of 1830, on the estate of Robert Hunter, Esq. of Hunterston, in the parish of West Kilbride, Ayrshire, within about a hundred yards of the sea, by two workmen who had commenced to quarry for stones. It lay quite close to the surface, at the foot of a steep cliff, called the "Hawking Craig," a part of the Goldenberry hill, which bounds the extreme

¹ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. Plate xx.; *Archæol. Jour.* vol. v. p. 220; vol. vi. p. 74.

western point of Ayrshire, where the falcon still breeds. Between the Hawking Craig and the sea is a level piece of ground, assigned by local tradition as the scene of a skirmish shortly before the celebrated battle of Largs, fought A.D. 1263,¹ when the fleet of King Haco was shattered by a tempest, and the Norse foe, already dispirited and reduced in numbers, was finally driven from the Scottish mainland. In further confirmation of the local tradition Mr. Hunter adds: "On the opposite side of the Hawking Craig, where the brooch was found, I discovered, in making a fence, some graves, composed merely of six rough stones, but with nothing inside but some charcoal, the bones being quite decayed. A short distance from this, at the foot of the hill, is the flat piece of ground assigned as the scene of the skirmish, in confirmation of which I discovered some graves there. A short way from this was a large cairn or tumulus of stones, wherein were found coins, etc.; but I just recollect, as a boy, the stones having been carted away: I found also an urn of unbaked clay, half filled with bones partially burned." It might admit of doubt if the Norsemen were likely to tarry on an enemy's coast, after shipwreck and defeat, long enough to construct the cist and cinerary urn, and to rear the funeral pile, though we know that they were permitted to land, after the battle of Largs, in order to bury their dead. But we may dispense with the argument in this case, as there is not the slightest reason to imagine that the cinerary urn was in use either by Scots or Norwegians of the thirteenth century. In truth, the whole theory by which the remarkable relic now referred to is sought to be connected with the important historical event of the reign of Alexander III., is destitute of any satisfactory foundation. The locality is far removed from Largs, and not

¹ MS. Letter from R. Hunter, Esq., 4th April 1850.

the slightest value can be attached to any local tradition of Norwegian skirmishes or battles. A reference to the old and new statistical accounts of the various parishes, along both the Ayrshire and Argyleshire coasts, will suffice to show that the battle of King Haco has proved as infallible a source of explanation for the discovery of cists, tumuli, cairns, and sepulchral relics of every kind, as if it were a well authenticated fact that no one had died, from the days of Noah to our own, but at the battle of Largs!

Sturla, the Norse skald, has celebrated the gorgeous armament of Haco in the famous Raven's Ode, and disguises the extent of his monarch's disasters with the skill of a courtly bard; but in vain. King Haco gathered together the shattered remnant of his fleet, and bore away for Orkney, where he died, not many weeks after, of a broken heart. The old Norse skald thus refers to his earlier success, while the fleet was gathering along the Scottish shores, in sight of the Ayrshire coast:—"Our fierce veterans, feeders of wolves, hastened their fatal course through the mountains. In the fell battle mingling, Aleinn the Dauntless wreaked vengeance on the expiring foe. But now our sovereign encountered the horrid powers of enchantment. A tempest, magic raised, blew upon our warriors ambitious of conquest, and against the floating habitations of the brave. The roaring billows dashed shielded companies on the Scottish strand."

In one of the skirmishes which preceded the fatal encounter fought on Tuesday the 2d of October 1263, the beautiful brooch is assumed to have been lost. Both the character of its inscription and the style of its ornament suggest the probability of its pertaining to a much earlier period; and even Danish antiquaries, while not unwilling to authenticate its Scandinavian origin, have






sought for it a date one hundred and thirty-three years prior to the defeat of King Haco, and the final abandonment of the Scottish mainland by the Norwegian invaders. The brooch is of silver, richly wrought with gold filigree work, and measures four inches and nine-tenths in greatest diameter. It is also set with amber, and is in a nearly perfect condition. The only injury it has received, with the exception of the point of the acus being broken off, is in some of the amber settings, occasioned either by the action of the weather, to which it was exposed from lying so near the surface, or possibly from the frequent burning of the whins which abound along the cliff where it was found. But the most remarkable feature of this beautiful personal ornament is the inscription engraved in large Runic characters on its under side.

Shortly after the discovery of this interesting relic, it was exhibited to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and Mr. T. G. Repp, a native of Iceland, familiar with Runic literature, read the inscription thus :—

YAMRIDA : 1 : 14NY : D10 :: 1ENY : 10PR14E :

Maloritha á dalk this ; Dólk Osfrido ; which he thus translated : *Maloritha possidet hanc fibulam ; Fibula Osfridie*. The inscription engraved in northern Runes on this beautiful fibula has naturally rendered it an object of considerable interest to Danish antiquaries. It was made the subject of a learned communication by Finn Magnusen, in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* for 1846 ; but it admits of doubt if he has been more successful in the correct rendering of this than of the well-known Runamo and Ruthwell inscriptions ; though he is equally precise in assigning to the Ayrshire brooch a definite date and owner, as in identifying Offa, and the other historical characters of whom

mention is made, according to certain readings of the Ruthwell Runes.

The inscription on the brooch is traced in large Runic characters, of which an exact fac-simile is introduced in the frontispiece, and differs essentially from any readings hitherto given of it by Danish antiquaries. Professor Magnusen's version, furnished by the late Mr. Donald Gregory, then Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, was probably only a copy of that made by Mr. Repp, though he reads the second name , and contrives to elicit a vast deal more significance from the brief legend than its former translator dreamt of. He renders the first part—MALFRIPA A DALK þis; and translates it, *Malfritha is the owner of this brooch*. In this Malfritha he ingeniously discovers the Norwegian Queen Malford, a Russian princess who lived about A.D. 1130, while he finds in the Osfrido of the latter part of his version, Astrith the wife of King Svenir. A passage, moreover, in the Saga of King Haco, wherein the monarch complains of having been despoiled in infancy of all his inheritance save a BROOCH and a ring, completed the coveted cycle of historical identification; and here accordingly we have the brooch of King Haco, and an undoubted memorial of the Battle of Largs! A glance at the fac-simile of the inscription will show how much imagination had to do even with the literal elements of this unparalleled discovery. In adapting the first name to his historical romance, Professor Magnusen reads  as F, not only without any authority, but even while recognising the regular , or Runic F, in the second name: a needless liberty as will appear. The word  is no less a creation of the fancy: the mark which appears to have been construed into the terminating circle of the , and to have given some show of probability to the others, being only the head of one of

the silver rivets, which chances there to protrude in the middle of a line.

Meanwhile let us glance at the safer guide which pure archaeological evidence supplies. In addition to the inscription, I have introduced into the drawing, portions of the ornamental borders running along the outer and inner edges of the brooch. The Irish antiquary especially will recognise in these interlaced patterns, and the intertwined dragons and other ornamental devices, a style of decoration rendered familiar to us by engravings of the Scottish sculptured-stones, and introduced on nearly every native ecclesiastical and personal ornament pertaining to the early Christian period prior to the first appearance of the Northern Vikings. But for the inscription, in fact, no one would have dreamt of assigning to the brooch a foreign origin; yet it does not seem to have ever occurred to the Scottish antiquaries to whom it was submitted, that the inscription might also be native, and equally Celtic with the workmanship. It will be seen that a rude chevron pattern is engraved on the back of the brooch, cut in the same style as the inscription, evidently the work of very different, and no doubt later hands, than those of the original jeweller. The whole reasoning, both of Scottish and Danish antiquaries in relation to this interesting relic, has heretofore proceeded on the assumption that a Runic inscription must have a direct Scandinavian origin: a conclusion by no means necessarily resulting from the use of Runes in Scotland at the date assigned to this one, after alliances and intermarriages had long existed between the Scandinavian and Celtic races of Scotland. They constitute an alphabet, as regular and as easily adapted to any language as that of the Romans. A curious modern example of such an adaptation, under much less favourable circumstances, was shown to me by Mr. William H. Hodgson, of Savannah, Georgia,

consisting of portions of the Scriptures written by an African slave, in well executed Arabic characters, but in the patois, or imperfect English, in use among the slaves of the Southern States.

The Runic monuments of the Isle of Man present some remarkable features, manifestly pointing them out as the product of a Scandinavian colony in close alliance with a native Celtic population, and possessed both of a language and style of art resulting from the intercourse of these diverse races. The Manx Runic alphabet appears also to have some literal peculiarities altogether singular, though probably once common to the Hebrides and Northern Isles, and found also, as might have been anticipated, on the Hunterston brooch. To these features of the Manx alphabet, my attention was called by Professor P. A. Munch of Christiania, during the visit of that distinguished Northern scholar to this country in 1849;¹ by whom, indeed, they were for the first time detected, when inspecting a series of casts of the Manx inscriptions in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. In these \mathfrak{A} is sometimes used as B, so that the first name on the brooch reads *Malbritha*. Since the publication of the first edition of this work, Professor Munch has contributed to the *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord* a communication on the Runic inscriptions of Sodor and Man, to which he appends a copy of the inscription on the Hunterston brooch, with the following remarks:—"The above shows the inscription to be much longer than was stated in the drawing from which Finn Magnussen attempted to decipher it. But of this I only

¹ As these sheets are passing through the press, I learn of the premature death of this gifted Northern scholar, while engaged in maturing the results of his researches among the literary treasures of the Vatican, which promised contributions of unexpected value to Northern, including British history.

venture to read the words: MALBRIȝA A DALK ȝANA . . . ; undoubtedly A and ȝANA are not clear, but we may easily imagine the disappearance of the few strokes necessary for these words. In the second line, I only dare read the first word, DALK. The name ASTRITAR cannot possibly be there. The third line is also inexplicable."¹ Here it is very noticeable that, while this learned Northern scholar reads without difficulty the Norse inscriptions on Manx monuments, he can only make out with any confidence a single word, exclusive of the proper name, which is confessedly no Scandinavian, but a native Celtic one; and his conjectural interpretation entirely differs from either of those previously furnished by Northern scholars. Examples of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Runes employed to write the Latin language are by no means rare; nor need it surprise us that any regular alphabet should be used, either by ecclesiastics in their literate language, or by the people among whom it is introduced, in rendering inscriptions in their native tongue. Such was the use to which the Roman alphabet was applied by the native Britons and Irish; and indeed the idea is so obvious that Professor Munch, when commenting on an imperfect Runic inscription at Kirk Onchan, in which he fails to detect any Norse forms, dismisses it with the remark: "A fragment not to be understood; it is perhaps Gaelic." From the comments of himself and others on the Hunterston brooch, of which the only points on which all are agreed are the essentially Celtic character both of the workmanship and proper name, the same remark might no less fitly apply to its inscription. The incidents attendant on the acquisition by the Northmen of possessions on the Scottish mainland, both by conquest and marriage, leave little room to doubt that, in so far

¹ *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1845-49, p. 202.

as the Celtic race had any literary acquirements, they must have been familiarized both with the Northern language and Runes. It need not, therefore, surprise us to find in the owner of the Hunterston brooch not a Norwegian queen but a Scottish chief of the same name as the Celtic maormor, Melbrigda Tönn, slain by Sigurd, the Orkney jarl, when he invaded the north of Scotland A.D. 894. The name, indeed, is familiar to the student of early Scottish history, and its first syllable is one of the commonest Celtic prefixes, as in the *Mail Fataric* on the Iona tomb, and even in the royal name of Malcolm, *Maol Columb*, the servant of Columba, as *Maol Brigda* signifies the servant of St. Bridget. In all cases it is a male prefix, the Gaelic *maol* meaning *bald* as well as *subordinate*, and being undoubtedly originally employed in its latter acceptation with reference to the tonsure. It is accordingly frequently met with in the names of ecclesiastics, as in the Pictish chronicle, A.D. 965, "*Maelbrigd episcopus pausavit*," and again repeatedly in an early Irish ms. copy of the Gospels, preserved among the Harleian mss. in the British Museum, — n, 1802 ; as, for example, at the end of the Gospel of St. John, the colophon : "Or. do Maelbrigte h-Ua Machuanaig, qui scripsit hunc librum."

Here, therefore, we have a probable key to the language of the whole inscription, nor can it be regarded as an extravagant idea that a Celt should write his native language in an alphabet already familiar to him. The characters on the brooch, it will be seen, are rudely and somewhat irregularly executed, and include various *Binderuner* or compound Runes, which add to the difficulty of translation. Making allowance for these, the following version has this merit at least, compared with previous ones, that it does not select merely such letters as will conform to a preconceived theory, but takes the

whole in natural order.¹ In the latter part of the inscription the second letter appears to be a compound Rune, consisting of H , or perhaps of H , the next of NY , and the fourth of H —a construction entirely in accordance with the usual mode of interpreting the *Binderuner*, which were in common use at the period of the most intimate Celtic and Scandinavian intercourse. The whole will thus read :—

YIMRID:1:11YIK*:1:1H:YHNYRI11

The additional marks are mostly irregular lines, with no distinctive character, and executed with so little care, that it is not improbable they have been introduced merely to occupy the remaining space with a uniform texture. What is decipherable admits of being thus read in Gaelic : *Malbritha a daimihev i dæol Maolfridi* ; i.e., *Malbritha his friend in recompense to Maolfridi* : *a* is the possessive pronoun *his* ; *daimheach*, a friend or relative ; *i* or *h-i*, the old Celtic preposition *in* ; and *dæol*, a reward for service done. It must be borne in remembrance that the orthography of the Scottish Gaelic is of modern origin. The sound, therefore, is chiefly to be looked to, but the variations even in the spelling are not important. No Scandinavian scholar can examine the facsimile of the inscription, and question the fact that the concluding portion actually contains the masculine name which Professor Magnussen was at such needless pains to try and educe from that of *Malbritha*. The chief value, however, to the Scottish antiquary of the reading now given, arises from no identification of these

¹ What Professor Munch calls the third "inexplicable line" of Runes, it will be seen from the engraving, occurs on a different part of the brooch, as part of a series of rudely scratched lines covering all the plain surface. They bear no resemblance to the regular Runic characters on the circle of the brooch ; and are, I conceive, nothing more than a part of the rude diapering scratched over the whole surface there.

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YINPRIL

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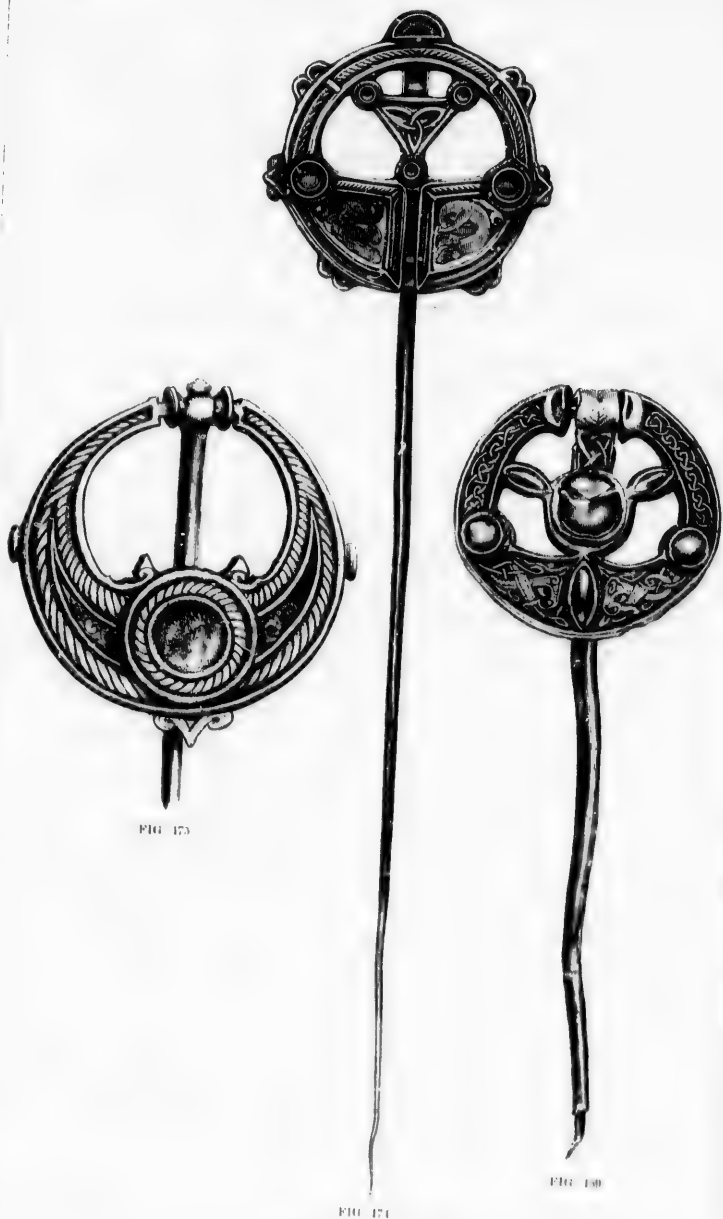


FIG. 170

FIG. 171

FIG. 172

SCOTTISH BROOCHES

old Celtic friends, but from the conclusion which it involves—in itself so probable,—that they did actually employ the Scoto-Scandinavian Runes in writing their own native language.

An exceedingly beautiful Scottish brooch, in the Dungaunon collection, is shown on Plate XVIII. Fig. 159. Like the Hunterston brooch, it is of silver, set with amber, and with the pattern wrought in gold. The resemblance of the two, both in style of ornament and in some of the details, can hardly fail to be recognised. This very fine specimen was found in the immediate vicinity of the celebrated mounds of Dunipace, Stirlingshire: the objects of antiquarian speculation from the days of Buchanan to our own. Another fine large silver brooch, jewelled and plated with gold, formerly in the celebrated collection of Major Sirr, has an acus exactly corresponding in its form and peculiar construction to that of the Hunterston brooch, while its other details are such as Scottish and Irish antiquaries are familiar with on the native gold and silver work of Celtic Christian art prior to the eleventh century. In point of workmanship and style of art, therefore, there is not the slightest reason to ascribe to this Runic brooch a foreign origin; and when it is considered that the neighbouring islands were in the possession of the Northmen for centuries, it must be needless to refute the assumption of any necessary connexion between the discovery of Runes in the west of Scotland and the expedition of King Haco in the thirteenth century.

Directly opposite to the Ayrshire coast, and within sight of the Bay of Largs, a small island protects the entrance to Lamlash Bay, in the Isle of Arran, the well-known anchorage where Haco mustered his shattered fleet after its overthrow. In the Norwegian account of the expedition, after the narration of the fatal storm and



conflict, it is stated, "The king sailed past Kumbrey (Cumbray) to Melansay, where he lay some nights."¹ This Melan's ey, or isle, there can be no doubt, is Holy Island, in the Bay of Lamlash, which contains the cave assigned by immemorial tradition as the residence of St. Molio or St. Maoliosa, a disciple of Columba, and a favourite Celtic saint. The island corresponds in geological structure to the southern district of Arran, presenting along the shore the common red sandstone strata, overlaid by a great mass of claystone and claystone porphyry, which towers above it in rugged and picturesque cliffs, fringed by the dwarf oak and birch, to a height of about a thousand feet. The cave of St. Molio is little more than a water-worn recess in the sandstone rock at an elevation of about thirty feet from the present level of the sea. On the shore below, a circular well is pointed out as St. Molio's Bath, and a large block of sandstone cut perfectly flat on the top, and surrounded with a series of artificial recesses or seats, bears the name of the Saint's Chair. Such relics are by no means rare in Scotland. They appear to have been singularly characteristic of Celtic hagiology. The Bath of St. Cuthbert was once a favoured resort in Strathhtay; that of St. Woloe exists in Strathdeveron; and St. Fillan's is in the strath of Perthshire which still bears his name. Another pool of the latter favourite saint is associated with his name at Strowan, in Blair-Athol; and at Strowan of Monivaird both the lin, or bath, and the well of St. Rowen are shown in the vicinity of the old church. St. Kentigern also had his bath, bed, and chair near the Molendinar burn, where the later Cathedral of Glasgow perpetuates his name. The Stone Chair of St. Marnan is still at Aberchirder; that of St. Fillan was recently preserved at the Mill of Killin; while another of these

¹ *Haco's Expedition*, Rev. J. Johnston, 1782, p. 109.

singular Celtic relics, placed at a commanding point, near Achtereachan, Glencoe, where a bend of the glen enables it to command both views, bears the name of *Cathair Malvina*, or the Chair of Malvina, one of Ossian's heroines.

The roof and sides of the cave of St. Molio, on Holy Island, are covered with rude marks and inscriptions of many different periods, among which may be discerned the following Runic inscription, cut with great regularity, in characters of about an inch and a half in height:—

✠ 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸.

The reading is sufficiently simple. *Nikulos ahæne ræist*. The first, 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸, is manifestly a proper name. No such word as 𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 is known in the Icelandic or ancient Norse tongue, unless it be simply a *Hæne*: of Hæne, the name of a place; and I was tempted in my first efforts at interpretation to look for its equivalent in the Gaelic *abhadh*, a hollow, or abode. The initial ✠ moreover not only determined the Christian origin of the inscription, but also suggested its being the work of an ecclesiastic. Without, therefore, overlooking the uncertainty which necessarily attends any attempt at identifying the author of so slight a record, the coincidence in name and place of nativity of an old Manx bishop seemed worthy of note, as possibly once the holy anchorite of St. Molio's cave. In the *Chronicon Manniæ*, after recording the death of Bishop Michael in 1193, the elevation of his successor, Nicholas, a native of Argyle, is thus noted: "Hinc successit Nicholasis Arehadiensis genere, qui jacet in Monasterio Benchorensi."¹ Professor Munch, however, to whom I forwarded a copy of the inscription, has since discussed the subject in the *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, and adopts the reading of the *ahæne*

¹ *Chronicon Manniæ*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 44.

as two words, a *Hæne*, properly *à Hæni*, i.e., at, or of Hæn; Nicholas being thus designated from his home, in old northern fashion. He adds: "In Romsdal is a homestead now called *Heen* or *Hein*, the largest estate in the parish of Heen, which belongs to the northern parish of Gryten. It is likely enough that Nikulas à Hæni may have been from hence."¹ No such name, indeed, occurs among those mentioned in Hákon Hákonson's Saga; nevertheless he inclines to the belief that the inscription is the work of one of King Haco's followers, during the brief sojourn of the Norwegian fleet in Lamlash Bay, in 1263. The Runes accordingly read: *Nikulos a hæne ræist*; i.e., "Nicholas of Hæne carved (these Runes)." This

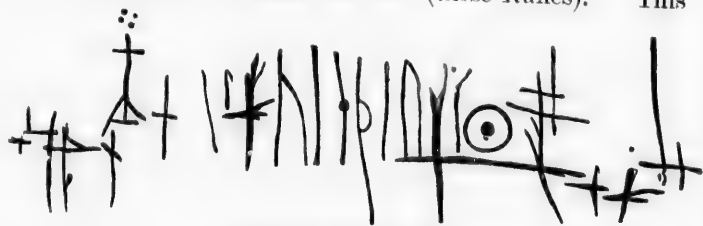


FIG. 100.—Runes in St. Molio's Cave.

inscription, however, is by no means the sole example of graven characters on the walls of St. Molio's Cave. The surface is covered with marks and crosses, cut it may be presumed by pious but illiterate pilgrims in evidence of their visit to the Holy Isle; and along with those are also traceable initials, monograms, and other more perfect evidences of the former concourse to the sacred spot. The above facsimile of a group of them shows the curious character of these primitive holographs; among which the experienced eye will discern Runic characters, not boldly cut as in the former inscription, but irregularly scratched, as with the hasty hand of the wayfaring pilgrim.

But a renewed and more careful survey of the saintly

¹ *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1845-49, p. 207.

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eremite's cell, effected during the past summer of 1863, has led me to the discovery of three additional Runic inscriptions, previously obscured by moss and lichens. The first of these, a little higher on the surface of the rock, to the left of Nicholas's Runes, is sharply cut in the same Northern characters, an inch in length, and reads simply **YNTAR**, which may be assumed to be the name of its carver: **AMVÐAR**. The second inscription is in somewhat larger Runes, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. It occupies the space immediately above the old inscription ; but is more lightly cut, and somewhat defaced. It presents, however, one of the most common formulæ of Runic epigraphy: **AMINR : RAIØI : RNTAR** i.e., *Ontur raist runer*: "Ontur engraved these Runes." The third inscription is produced in facsimile here. It occurs on a sloping face of the rock, in characters of nearly eight inches in length, but so slightly scratched, and so much weathered and defaced by time, as to render the precise value of its Runes extremely uncertain. The

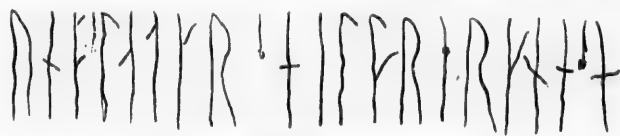


FIG. 161.—Runic Inscription in St. Mollo's Cave.

woodcut represents the inscription as it appeared to my eye, after carefully washing the surface of the rock, and bringing the Runic characters to light from beneath the accumulated moss and dirt of centuries. It appears to read: *Unflaigr seilfr (or seilkr) erknes* ; it belongs to the class of *graffiti*, or scratchings, rather than to that of regularly carved Runes, like those already described ; and the marks on which the determinate value of the Runes depend are too uncertain to encourage me to venture with any confidence on their interpretation.

A curious, though slight allusion to the use of Runes by the native population of Scotland, occurs in the earliest, if not indeed the only medieval Scottish document which contains any reference to the Pictish race. A charter of confirmation of the reign of Alexander II., in the Chartulary of Moray, in describing the marches of the lands of Burgie, as fixed by perambulation, refers to the various landmarks as follows: "Scilicet a magna quereu in Malevin quam predictus comes Malcolumo primo fecit cruce signari usque ad *Rune Pictorum*, et inde usque ad *Tubernacrumkel*, et inde per sicum usque ad *Tubernafein*, et inde usque ad *Runetwethel*, et inde per rivulam qui currit per meresiam usque ad vadum quod dicitur *Blakeford*, quod est inter Burgyn et Ulern."¹ To this interesting charter another parchment is attached, which professes to furnish an explanation of the local names. They contain, it will be observed, an admixture of Celtic and Saxon terminology, sufficiently characteristic of the previous history of the locality; and the explanatory gloss is chiefly valuable as showing how effectually the intrusion of the later race had adulterated or effaced the native traditions. The following is the assigned translation:—" *Rune[s] Pictorum*, the earne of the Pethis, or the Pecht's fieldis. *Tubernacrumkel*, ane well with ane thrawine mowth, or ane cassin well, or ane erwik in it." It is sufficiently obvious that the explanations are given with uncertainty, and there can be little hesitation in translating the first name, not as the Pictish fields, but as the Pictish Runes, referring, as may be assumed, to an inscribed Celtic monument in the Runic, or perhaps in the Ogham character, which had of old marked one of the Burgie marches; though in the reign of Alexander II., and long prior to the Battle of Largs, the very meaning of either term was forgotten in Scotland.

¹ *Regist. Episc. Moraviensis*, p. 456.

While the Isle of Man still retains many interesting traces of Scandinavian influence, in its memorial crosses graven with inscriptions in the Northern Runes, it was long a subject of reasonable wonder that the indications of the same influence in the older northern jarldom should be so slight and partial. Only two imperfect Runic inscriptions have been observed in Shetland, and are described by Dr. Hibbert from drawings by Mr. Low.¹ One of them on a slab or grave-stone at Crosskirk, in Northmavine, is too much mutilated to render any attempt at restoration or decipherment of its meaning possible. The other was fixed in the wall of the Parish Church of Sandness, where it probably still remains; but, if there be no error in Dr. Hibbert's engraving of it, it only adds another to the frequent examples in Scotland of the term *Runic* being applied to designate any strange or incomprehensible device on a sepulchral monument. In Orkney no Runic monument was known to exist until 1861, when the intelligent researches carried out there by James Farrer, Esq., M.P., led to the discovery of a series of Runic inscriptions of singular interest and value. Among the tumuli and other earthworks in the vicinity of Stennis, familiarly designated the Knowes of Broidgar, one truncated tumulus of large proportions bears the name of Maeshowe. It rises to a height of thirty-six feet, measures about three hundred feet in circumference, and is surrounded by a trench forty feet wide. On this a number of excavators were employed for several days, and their labours were at length rewarded by bringing to light a remarkable sepulchral vault, with lateral chambers and a long entrance gallery, resembling in some respects the chambered barrows, but differing in the peculiar masonry, formed chiefly of tiers of long slabs of unhewn stone. The

¹ Hibbert's *Shetland*, pp. 531, 547.

sepulchral character of the chambers was manifest ; but they had obviously been opened and thoroughly ransacked at some remote date ; and when the stones and rubbish with which the central chamber was encumbered had been cleared away, the walls were found to be covered with inscriptions in Northern Runes, bearing evidence of its exploration by Norse spoilers, and of repeated visits to it, probably at intervals extending over a lengthened period. The inscriptions amount to fully two dozen in number, in varying forms of the Northern runic character, and present obscurities that have already furnished a theme for much learned discussion.¹ This arises in part from the slight manner in which many of them are executed. For, judging from the complete series of casts in the Scottish Museum, which I have had the advantage of minutely examining, they present in this respect a striking contrast to the sharply-cut Runes on the crosses and sepulchral slabs of the Northmen. They are indeed scratched, rather than cut, on the surface of the soft red sandstone ; and are already affirmed to have suffered from exposure. Happily, however, the zeal with which this Runic discovery has been illustrated and discussed has sufficed to place its literary treasures beyond the reach of such erasure. On one of the slabs the Scandinavian Futhork, or Runic Alphabet, illustrates, by the limited number of its characters, their diverse

¹ Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during excavations in the Orkneys, made by James Farrer, M.P. 1862. Privately printed.

Runic Inscriptions at Mesehowe, Prof. G. Stephens, *Gent. Mag.* vol. cccxiii. p. 286.

Explanations of the Inscriptions in the Chambers of the Maes-Howe, by the Rev. Principal Borelay, University of Glasgow, *Collectanea Archaeologia*, vol. ii.

Mesehowe: Illustrations of the Runic Literature of Scandinavia, by J. M. Mitchel, F.S.A. Scot., etc. Edinburgh, 1863.

The Runic Inscriptions of Maeshow, by Edward Charlton, M.D., *Archæol. Eliana*, vol. vi.

order of arrangement from the alphabets of classic and Phœnician origin, the independent invention of Northern letters. The name *Futhork* is applied to all the systems of phonetic signs of the Teutonic stock, for the same reason as those of classical derivation are called *alphabet*, or *abecedarium*. They occur in a similar order in the old German, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Northern Runes, with a nomenclature in all of them borrowed from trees, and other familiar natural objects, suggestive of the derivation of the series of phonetic symbols from a primitive system of pictorial writing. The alphabets of the different Teutonic nations vary as to the number of their characters, but all arrange them in the same order: proving no less clearly their independent origin among the Germanic races, than their derivation from a common source. Among the most valued native relics in the British Museum is the sword dredged up from the bed of the Thames, with the Anglo-Saxon Futhork of twenty-eight Runes inlaid in gold and silver on its blade. The Norse Futhork includes only sixteen Runes, and these are for the most part simpler than the corresponding signs in the Anglo-Saxon Futhork; so that it possesses more primitive characteristics than the other Teutonic alphabets. The Rune-carver who tried his art with this rudimentary feat of literature, on the walls of the Maeshowe, has substituted the Y, A, for the M, Y, and completed the requisite number of sixteen runes by repeating the U at the end in place of the Y. This is not, however, to be regarded either as an inaccuracy, or, as Mr. Mitchel has done,¹ as an evidence of recondite meaning. The runic U is employed on the Kirk-Michael Cross and others

¹ *Meseshowe: Illustrations of the Runic Literature of Scandinavia*. Pp. 48, 58. Mr. Mitchel infers from the variations in this version of the Futhork that "this inscription is evidently meant to inform some companion in another ship of the fact that the inscriber was bound to the north-east; namely, returning home."

of the Manx monuments with the slight variation of a dot within it, for the y; and the m and o appear represented in five, or the former, with this addition of the inverted y, in six different forms, in Norse epigraphy. The Maeshowe Futhork thus renders the sixteen runes:—

ƿ ƒ ʀ ʁ ʒ ʔ ʕ ʖ ʗ ʘ ʙ ʛ ʟ ʠ ʡ ʢ

F U þ O R K H N I A S T B M L Y.

It is thus apparent that our Teutonic forefathers, both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian, inherited letters from a wholly independent source; and the mythic Woden or Odin, the inventor of Runes, claims a higher place in the literature of Northern Europe than the Greek Cadmus, the reputed introducer of the alphabet of Southern Europe from Phœnicia.

From the slight scratching of many of the Maeshowe Runes, and the consequent irregularity and want of precision in the forms, and also, no doubt, in the orthography and grammar, of what, it must be remembered, are mere graffiti, some of them are open to conjectural renderings of diverse significance. Others, however, present the common formulæ of name-records, such as *Vemuntr ræist*: Vemund carved this; *Reist runar thessar Oframr Sigurtharsonr*: Ofram, son of Sigurd, carved these runes. On several of the stones are groups of palm or bough runes, involving a species of monogrammic Runic writing, introduced apparently as a display of skill. One of these inscriptions begins with a line of elaborate bough-runes, and thus proceeds in a half strophe of alliterative verse:—

RIST SA MATHR

ER RUNSTR ER

FYRIR VAESTAN HAF;

which may be read: "These bough-runes engraved that man, in Runes most skilled over the western seas." Other

inscriptions, more elaborate and difficult of decipherment, seem to record the history of the first exploration and appropriation of the Maeshowe in the time of the Norsemen. The most important of all the inscriptions occupies two square slabs, the smooth, extended surfaces of which have tempted the first Rune-reister with their ample space. He has, accordingly, engraved his record in three lines of large and well-defined Runes, the first two of which extend continuously over both slabs. But to this two subsequent Rune-writers have made additions, crowded into the vacant space; so that the difficulty of reading the whole is greatly increased by the uncertainty as to the relation of different portions, or their continuity as parts of one record. The line rendered below as the last, intervenes, in part, between the second and third line of the previous inscription; but in order to admit of its insertion in the narrow space, the Runes towards the close are crowded in, greatly reduced in size, so as, I think, to leave no room for doubt as to this being an interlineation. Under any system of interpretation, no one who judges of these inscriptions from the original Runes, or the casts of the Maeshowe tablets, can entertain the idea of their being regular dedicatory epigraphs, as is implied in such renderings as that of the learned Principal of the University of Glasgow:—" *This sepulchral mound was raised for the sons of the deceased hero, Lodbrock. They were wise, brave, and powerful. Scarcely have there ever been men such as they were in the north-west. Great funeral honours were paid to them.*"¹ They are mere wall-scratchings by different hands, and must be treated as Norse equivalents of the old graffiti of Pompeii, scribbled with charcoal or red chalk. The Runic inscriptions on the Manx crosses are regularly and sharply

¹ *Explanation of the Inscriptions in the Chambers of the Maeshowe*, by the Rev. Principal Barclay, University of Glasgow, p. 15.

cut with a chisel; whereas the most of the Maeshowe graffiti are slightly and irregularly scratched, as if with a nail; and one of the Rune-reisters, Simon Sigrith, after failing in his first rude attempt at his name, has repeated it below in more defined, though still irregular tracings. I am further confirmed in the idea of the following being the order in which the inscriptions should be read, by the character of the writing. The portion which I suppose to be an interlineation is sharply cut, with a keener stylus than the adjoining lines, which correspond in depth of tracing, as if executed by the same instrument and hand. Some of the Runes, however, are uncertain; and it is impossible to apply to such informal scribblings the formulæ or grammatical tests of regular epigraphy. The following is an attempt to render the principal group of inscriptions in what thus seems to be their order of execution:—

SIA HOUHR VAR FYRLATHIN HAE LR LOTHBROKAR
SYNGR HAENAR THAEIR VORO HUATIR SLIT VORO
MAEN SAEM THAEIR VORO FYRI SER UTHNORTH
ER FI FOLHET MIKIL THALUR. SIMON SIHRITH.

JORSALAFARAR BRUTU ORKOY HLIF MULT SAILIA
JARLU LOEFTIR HIR VAR FI FOLHGET MIKEL.
RAEIST OGONAGN BAR FE YR OUHI THISUM.

These may be thus read:—"This tumulus was appropriated as Lodbrok's. Her sons, men were they matchless. Carefully to the north is treasure hid; much money. Simon Sigrith." "Jerusalem farers, or Crusaders, broke open the orkhill in the time of the fortunate Earl: left here was much treasure. This was graven by Ogonagn, who carried off money from this mound." To this some later visitor has added sarcastically the interpolated line: SAEL ER SA ER FINA MA THAN OUTH HIN MIKLA; *i.e.*, "Lucky is he who may discover that great treasure!"

The central chamber of the Maeshowe, ravished and

left exposed, was probably visited at many successive periods; and the inscriptions graven high on its walls may be assumed to have been added when the accumulating stones and rubbish, which gradually fell from the vaulted roof, filled it up, so as to admit of the later scribe executing his graphic art on tablets beyond the reach of one standing on the original floor. Professor Stephens assigns the longer inscription already referred to, which seems to record the spoliation of the tumulus, to probably about A.D. 870 or 880. On another mutilated inscription is the name of Gauk Traenilson, the foster-brother, as Professor Munch supposes, of Asgrim Elsdagrimson, a chief of South Iceland about 990. Again, *Jorsalamen* and *Jorsalafarar*, the Jerusalem travellers, or Crusaders, repeatedly occur; and in one case, Professor Munch supposes them to be the northern warriors in the train of Earl Ragnvald, who assembled in Orkney in 1153, on their way to the Holy Land. The longer and more defaced inscriptions occupy the largest and most accessible slabs, first inviting to such displays of Runic skill, and have suffered in the decay of the ruined catacomb; so that some of them are too imperfect to determine the coherent significance of the whole. One large square slab is graven with three lines of characters, of which the lowest is a row of occult bough-runes. The decipherable portion appears to read: *Ingibjörg hin fahra æhkiá morhk konah hæfer færet lutin hir mihkil oflati*; i.e., "Ingibjörg, the fair widow. Many a woman hath fared lowly here, ever so haughty [though she be]." The name of Ingibjörg is famous in Scoto-Scandinavian annals. Ingibjörg, surnamed *Earlamodir*, the wife of Earl Thorfinn, was the mother of the Earls Paul and Erlendr; and after his death, in 1064, she was married, according to the Orkneyinga Saga, to Malcolm Canmore, and bore to him Duncan, who claimed the crown before

the sons of the Saxon princess, Margaret.¹ Ingibjorg was thus a distinguished name, and repeatedly appears in the Sagas as borne by ladies of rank.

The upper stones of the ruined chamber of Macshowe are chiefly inscribed with names and brief records, in Runic characters, of its later visitors, where they would be most exposed to view; but some old Norse lover has chosen a slab within the recess of one of the smaller chambers to carve his fond declaration: *Igigaerth ir kynana in vaensta*; i.e., "Igigaerth is of women the fairest." Alongside of it is an otter's head with a fish in its mouth, probably the device of the lover by whom it was engraved. The inscriptions thus brought to light within the Maeshowe tumulus include upwards of a thousand Runic characters, in addition to which, crosses and devices of various kinds are engraved on the walls. The most noticeable among the latter are an interlaced snake or worm-knot, and a dragon, executed with considerable spirit. It was impossible to doubt that the Northmen, who have left so many Runic memorials of their presence in Man, must have erected monuments and graven many similar inscriptions in the northern islands, where they entirely displaced the native population, and maintained partial possession till the latter part of the fifteenth century. The discoveries of Mr. Farrer have, therefore, only fulfilled a long cherished hope; and valuable as is the reward of his intelligent zeal, we may anticipate the possibility of still more valuable memorials of the Norsemen of Orkney and Shetland being yet brought to light.

¹ Duncan has been generally assumed by Scottish historians, on the authority of Fordun, to have been illegitimate; and his claim to the crown, before that of Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, looked upon as a usurpation. But the marriage of Malcolm to Ingibjörg is expressly mentioned in the Orkneyinga and other Sagas, and the rank of the widow of Earl Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Scoto-Scandinavian princes, is inconsistent with the idea of temporary illicit intercourse.—*Vide Chronica Regnum Mannie*, with Historical Notes, by P. A. Munch, p. 49.

But while the absence of graven Runic monuments in the Orkneys justly excited surprise, other memorials of a still more substantial character were recognised as the work of the Norsemen, and still testify to their enduring presence there. Of those, the metropolitan cathedral at Kirkwall is unquestionably the most remarkable, and attests the progress of the Scandinavian colonists of the Orkney and Shetland Islands in the same arts which their congeners were cultivating in Normandy, Sicily, and wherever the Christianized Norseman found a new home. During recent repairs on the Cathedral of St. Magnus, some singularly interesting discoveries were made connected with the period of its earliest Scandinavian bishops. A tomb was opened accidentally in the choir of the cathedral, which, from the inscription accompanying it, appears to have been the place to which the remains of William, according to Torfæus, first resident Bishop of Orkney, were translated, after the elongation of the cathedral, towards the close of the twelfth century. Along with the bones were interred a leaden plate inscribed in the common Church letters of the period:—
H . requiescit . Williamus . senex . felicis . memorie .
 On the reverse are the abbreviated words, **pms epis** .
 Further excavations in the east end of the choir, and close to the presumed site of the high altar, led to the discovery of two curious pieces of sculpture, in bas-relief, representing ST. OLAF and ST. MAGNUS. These, however, as well as the tomb of Bishop Tulloch, with crosier, paten, and chalice enclosed, and other discoveries made at the same period, belong to a later era than that of Runic literature. But they suggest the possibility of earlier relics, of the Scandinavian period of Orcadian history, being yet brought to light, while the first of them shows that the Runic character had fallen into disuse soon after the introduction of Christianity in the north.

Until the recent discoveries in Orkney and Holy Island, it was to the Manx monuments that we had to turn for the most distinct and abundant traces of Scandinavian influence, though modified by the arts as well as the faith of the older Celtic population. The Manx Runic inscriptions are associated with ornamental accompaniments, some of which are sufficiently common on the sculptured memorials of the Scottish mainland and isles, though never found on contemporary native monuments of Scandinavia. The close resemblance of a peculiar trefoil ornament on the upper part of one of the crosses at Kirk Michael, to the device on the reverse of the coins of Anlaf, king of Northumbria, has been pointed out ;¹ but it is impossible to limit to a single country, or to a very narrow period, much of the common ornamentation vulgarly called Runic knot-work. It may be traced on early manuscripts, monuments, and relics of Scoto-Irish, Pietish, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman origin, and, indeed, constitutes one of the most familiar characteristics of early Christian art. It is, however, frequently found with other accompaniments of a more precise character ; and this, in the case of the Manx crosses of Kirk Andreas and Kirk Michael, approaches more nearly to the style of the singular sculptured standing-stones of Scotland than to any other monuments of the north of Europe. Here, therefore, sheltered by the isolation of this island, and by the veneration or by the superstition of its inhabitants, examples have been preserved of the style of Scoto-Norwegian monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which must once have abounded in the Scottish Northern and Western Isles, and on those parts of the mainland longest subject to Scandinavian rule. "The fear of sacrilege evinced by the Manx peasants is very great. The ruined chapels are still

¹ *Journal of Archaeol. Assoc.* vol. i. p. 48.

venerated, and a Manx formula of cursing is,—May a stone of the church be found in a corner of your house.”¹ That the monuments of this period should have disappeared cannot surprise us, when we reflect on the very few memorials we now possess of that important era of Scottish ecclesiastical history which intervenes between the building of the white-walled cathedral of St. Ninian at Whithorn, about the year 412, and the founding of the Abbey of Dunfermline in the eleventh century.

I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Professor Munch, of Christiania, in translating such of the Manx inscriptions as are referred to in the former edition of this work; and I now avail myself of his later communication to the *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, and his subsequent notes appended to his edition of the *Chronica Regnum Mannæ et Insularum*, for the more complete elucidation of a subject which the conflicting readings of earlier transcribers had involved in much obscurity and doubt.²

The interest attached to Scoto-Scandinavian epigraphy is increased by its alphabetic and grammatical peculiarities, which suffice to prove that the very same changes were at work among the naturalized Northmen of Scotland and the Isles, as elsewhere led to the total abandonment of the Norse language by the descendants of the Viking colonists. A new sign, þ, represents the b, and variations in those used for a, e, o, n, s, distinguish the majority of the Manx inscriptions. But these are less important than the numerous grammatical inaccuracies, and the tendency to the abandonment of familiar inflexions, such as the omission of the nominative form in

¹ *Ecclesiological Notes of the Isle of Man*, etc., p. 46.

² Camden's *Britannia*, Gibson's Ed. p. 1458; Gough's Ed. vol. iv. p. 510; *Archæol. Scot.* vol. ii. pp. 490, 505; *Archæol. Jour.* vol. ii. p. 75; *Ecclesiol. Notes*, p. 24, etc.

proper names and terms, and the signs of tense ; as *Gaut* for *Gautr*, *smiþ* for *smipar*, *risti*, *vaiti*, and *raist* for *raisti*, etc. : which show the commencement of dialectic differences among the Norse population of the Sodoreys, or the influence of Celtic elements on language as well as race, as is further shown by many of the proper names being either native Manx, or such as are unknown on the Rune-stones of the Norse fatherland. The inscribed monuments are divided into two classes, according to the forms of the letters used on each ; and an additional interest is conferred on them by the record on more than one of the inscribed crosses of the name of Gaut, the son of Bjarn, the Rune-carver, by whom it seems probable that many of those memorial stones were executed.

At Kirk Andreas, near Ramsey, at Kirk Michael, Kirk Braddan, Kirk Onchan, Kirk Bride, Kirk Maughold, Tynwald hill, and Balsalla, are various interesting memorials of the Scandinavian era, supplying graphic illustrations of the changes wrought on the Pagan Vikings by their sojourn among the Christian Gaels, whom they had once so ruthlessly plundered and put to the sword. They not only furnish examples of the art, and evidences of the faith of the period, but in some cases yield curious personal information regarding the men of that time. Not the least interesting of these minute records is that supplied by the inscription on one of the Kirk Michael crosses, already referred to. Rendered literally, according to the equivalent for each Runic character, it is :—

MAIL BRIKTI SUNR AÞAKANS SMIP RAISTI KRUS
 ÞANA FUR SALU SINA SIN BRUPURSUN GAUT
 GIRPI ÞANA AUK ALA I MAUN.

And in pure Norse it reads :—*Mailbrigdi sunr Aþakans smidar reisti kross þenna fyrir salu sinni sinn bropur-sun Gautr gerði þenna ok alla i Mön ; i.e., " Mail-*

brigdi, son of Athacan the smith, raised this cross for his soul, and that of his nephew Gaut, who made this and all [the crosses] in Man." The words rendered here *sin brupursun*, were read in the former edition *sins öruggs vinar*, conjecturally for what seemed, on the cast of the original Runes in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, to read *sin orukuin*; but \mathfrak{a} is certainly used in this and other Manx inscriptions for *B*. In his latest reading, Professor Munch remarks: "Of *sin brukuin* we cannot make out anything, if it be not a complete miswriting of *sintucrí* (*syndugrí*), i.e., *peccatrice*."¹ Under these circumstances, I venture to suggest the reading proposed here. The name of Gaut, the old Manx sculptor, occurs on a second very imperfect cross at Kirk Michael, and again on a mutilated fragment at Kirk Andreas, which reads literally:—

ÞANA UF UFAIG FAUÞUR SIN IN GAUTR GIRÞI
SUNR BIARNAR G

i.e., (*N.N. reisti kross*) *penna of Ufeig föður sinn. en Gautr gerði, sunr Bjarnar g* "N. N. raised this cross over Ufeig his father, but Gaut made [it] the son of Björn" Another of the Kirk Michael crosses, which has been more frequently and diversely translated than any other British Runic inscription, consists of an upright square slab, with a cross cut on both sides, somewhat after the style of the Pictish memorial stones, and, like them, decorated with sculptured figures and animals, representing a stag hunt. One of the edges is ornamented with interlaced work, as shown in the annexed illustration, and along the opposite edge is the legend, surmounted with a small incised figure of a warrior in simple costume, with his arms extended, holding a spear in his right hand, and bearing a round shield on the left

¹ *Chronica Regnum Mannie*, Pref. p. xxii.

arm. The letters are sharply cut, and the author of *Ecclesiological Notes on the Isle of Man* refers to this as the most perfect Runic inscription in the three kingdoms. Its literal rendering is:—

JUALFIR SUNR ÞORULFS EINS RAUÐA RISTI KRUS ÞANA
AFT FRİÐU MUÐUR SINA ;

or, according to the orthography of the old Norse tongue :
Jóálfr sunr þórolfs ins rauða reisti kross þenna eft Fríða móður sína ; i.e., "Joalf, the son of Thorolf the Red, raised this cross after (or in memory of) Fritha his mother." This simple memorial of affection, contrasting in its brevity with the inflated extravagancies of modern monumental inscriptions, affords a good example of the usual style of the Manx Runic legends. One cross at Kirk Andreas is raised by *Sandulfr suarte*, or Sandulf the Black, in memory of Arinbiaurg, his wife ; while on another imperfect fragment of a cross may still be traced the words :—*Askítill ultí í trigu aipsuara sínn ; i.e., "Askítill betrayed in truce, his sworn friend."* The precise object of this unusual memorial can only be guessed at, though the fragment preserves sufficient that is peculiar to excite our regret at



FIG. 100.—Kirk Michael Cross.

nor of *Eccle-*
this as the
kingdoms.

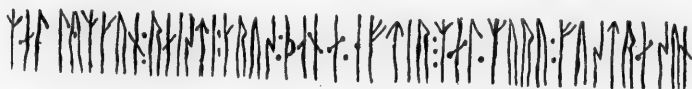
RUS PANA



of Cross.

regret at

its recovery in so imperfect a state. Another mutilated cross at Kirk Michael is interesting as an additional example of a Runic inscription containing names essentially Celtic in character. The most perfect portion of it is presented here in facsimile, as an illustration of the style of engraving of the rarer class of Manx inscriptions :—



The whole may be read :— *Mal-lymkun raisti krus pana eftir Mal-muru frustra sina doter Dufcals os Apisl ati, i.e.* Mallymcun raised this cross after Malmuru his foster-mother, the daughter of Dugald, whom Athisl had (in marriage). The name *Athisl* or *Athils*, is a well-known northern one, and the others afford interesting evidence of the admixture of Norse and Celtic blood in the Scoto-Scandinavian race. The frequent allusions in Runic inscriptions to the foster-father, mother, brother, or son, show the singular estimation in which such peculiar ties of adopted relationship were held by the northern races at that early date, as they have continued to be even to our own day among the Scottish Highlanders. The principal inscriptions hitherto noticed occur on slabs, which, like the sculptured stones of the mainland, only merit the name of crosses in so far as the interlaced knot-work wrought on the surface is arranged into a cruciform shape. But the influence of Irish models, so manifest at Iona, is probably apparent in the open cross of Kirk Braddan ; though in some respects it betrays traces of Scandinavian influence, only to be seen on one other example of the Manx memorial stones. I am not aware if monuments of this form exist in Nor-

way or Denmark ; but in nearly all the principal details it differs entirely from other crosses in the Isle of Man, with the exception of a recently discovered shaft found at the same place. The rude sculptures of both present a striking correspondence to the later "dragon ornaments" of the iron age, or last period of Scandinavian Paganism ; while the cruciform head of the more perfect cross is adorned with the interlaced patterns of early Christian art. As shown in the accompanying engraving the latter is also imperfect ; and its restoration has been accomplished by clasping the pieces of the broken shaft with iron bands. But the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland possesses a complete cast of this beautiful cross, taken when the iron clamps were removed for the purpose of being renewed, and thus supplies a portion of the Runic inscription which can no longer be seen. It is literally as follows :—



FIG. 163.—Kirk Bradden Cross.

PURLABR NEAKI RISTI KRUS þANA AFT FIAK SUN EN
BRUÞUR SUN IABRS.

Orthogr. *Thorlafr neaki reisti kross þenna eft Fjak sun [sinn] en bróðurson Iabrs* ; i.e., "Thorlafr Neaik raised this cross after Fjak his son, the nephew

incipal de-



Braddan Cross.

SUN EN

est Fjak
lafr Neaik
e nephew

(brother's son) of Iabr." The following marks on the under side of the head of the cross, have been variously figured in the different editions of Camden, and elsewhere. The Runic \mathfrak{N} ap-



pears to be used in its literal sense, and the remainder may be assumed as rude attempts at Roman characters, in which case there can be little hesitation in reading it as the sacred name IHESVS—a curious example of the transition from the use of Runes to Roman characters.

The same name, graven in Runic characters, appears on another cross, found along with various mutilated fragments at Kirk Onchan. According to its imperfect legend, Thuritha engraved the Runes, while one whose name is lost, erected the cross in memory of his wife Murgjialu, or Muriella. The remainder of the inscription baffles all attempts at interpretation, with the exception of the sacred name $\mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{S}$ i.e. ISVCRIST. It was subsequent to the publication of Professor Munch's *résumé* of the Runic inscriptions of Sodor and Man in the Transactions of the Northern Antiquaries, that the intelligent zeal of the Rev. J. G. Cumming brought to light the shaft of the second Kirk Braddan Cross, already referred to, built up in the old church-tower as the lintel of a doorway;¹ and now that it has been removed and re-erected alongside of the more perfect cross, it presents a correspondence in style of decoration, suggestive of its having been wrought, not only in the same age, but probably by the same hand. The inscription, though mutilated, is clearly and sharply cut, and reads thus:—

$\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{R} : \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I} : \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{O} : \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{T} : \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{I} : \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{I} : \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{T} : \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{T} : \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{T} : \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{N}$

Literally,—*utr risti krus pana ast fraka fapursin in*

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 263.

þorbjarn su . . . The concluding portion there can be little doubt contained the name of Thorbjörn's father, though the *sunr* is sufficiently imperfect to render it uncertain. The name can only be guessed at; but looking to that of the old sculptor Gaut's father, Björn, the idea of Thorbjörn being the son of Gaut, and the inheritor of his art, is a tempting one. No great harm can be done if the inscription is conjecturally completed thus:—*Ottar reisti kross þenna eftir Fraka föður sinn, en þorbjörn sunr [Gautr gerði]*, i.e., "Ottar raised this cross after Fraga his father, but Thorbiorn, son of Gaut, made it." Altogether seventeen more or less perfect Runic inscriptions still remain to attest the former presence of the Northmen in the Isle of Man, and their influence on the language and arts of the native Celtic population of the Sodoreys or Hebrides: with which it was long included as part of the insular possessions of the Scoto-Scandinavian Jarls, and subsequently of the Scottish Crown.

It has already been noted that the term Runic is used in Scotland in the vaguest sense, being frequently understood as synonymous with Scandinavian. In the account of St. Madoes' Parish, Perthshire, for example, we read: "In the churchyard there is a very beautiful specimen of that class of monuments called Runic, from their imagined Norse or Danish origin." It may be perhaps assumed that another stone in the parish of Anwoth, Kir'cu'brightshire, has no better claims to rank among the Runic monuments of Scotland, notwithstanding that the old Statist applies the name in reference to its inscription. A large moat which occupies a steep rocky peninsula jutting out into the sea is described, and it is added:—"Near to this moat stands a thin stone, nearly perpendicular, five feet three inches high, engraved on both sides with the rude figure of a cross, accompanied with several ornamental strokes, which some

antiquaries suppose to be Runic inscriptions."¹ It is not to be doubted, however, that both on the mainland and in Orkney and Shetland, as well as the Hebrides, such Runic monuments were once little less common than in the Isle of Man; and recent discoveries confirm the probability that buried memorials of this class, or fragments built up into more modern structures, may hereafter greatly extend our knowledge of the Scottish Northmen.

In the Orkney and Shetland Islands, which were so long occupied as a Norse jarldom, the relics of Scandinavian art are, as might be expected, more abundant than in any other part of the country. A group of bronze pins, chiefly of Scandinavian character, and illustrative of some of the more marked varieties, is shown on Plate XIX. Fig. 164, represents a plain bronze pin of the ringed pattern, about one-fourth the size of the original, from a tumulus at Sandwich, in Orkney. Another of the same form, now in the Scottish Museum, was found in a cist near the Earl's Palace, at Birsay, Orkney, sticking in the back part of the skull of a human skeleton which it enclosed. Another of the same form, but massive, and ornamental in its details (Fig. 165), was discovered alongside of other relics of the Northmen, at Heisker, in the Hebrides. In one of the graves on the Links of Pier-o-waal, at Westray, in Orkney, which have been found peculiarly rich in Northern relics, the ornamental head of some weapon or implement, Fig. 166, was obtained. It is made of copper, plated with silver, and the pattern on the head is chased. The bronze pin (Fig. 167) was recovered, along with the large drinking-cup made from the vertebra



FIG. 166.

¹ Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, vol. xiii. p. 350. A local correspondent informs me that the inscription is now quite illegible.

of a whale (Fig. 4) with other bone and horn implements, from a ruined "Picts' House" at Burray;¹ and the other pins, Figs. 168, 169, were both found in Forfarshire, the one in a moss at Inverkeillor, and the other at Lunan Bay, near the coast. The latter bears some resemblance to another in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.² But not only are such relics met with singly from time to time, but occasionally whole groups of graves have been exposed containing Scandinavian weapons and personal ornaments, and in some cases at least appearing to indicate the site of a battle-field in which many Northern warriors have fallen. Wallace describes, in his Account of the Islands of Orkney, the discovery of graves in the Links of Tranaby in Westray, "in one of which was seen a man lying with his sword in the one hand and a Danish axe in the other, and others that have had dogs, combs, and knives buried with them." In the spring of 1849 the shifting of the sands during the continuance of high easterly winds brought to light a remarkable group of graves on the Links of Pier-o-waal. A partial notice of this interesting discovery was communicated by Mr. T. Crofton Croker to the *Journal of the Archæological Association*,³ accompanied with illustrations engraved from various of the articles found deposited with the dead. The following are chiefly supplied from notes by Mr. William Rendall, surgeon, who repaired to the spot on learning of the discovery of the graves, and recorded these observations as they fell under his notice.⁴ Though in some cases less ample than might

¹ Vide *Proceedings of Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 158.

² Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A. Part II. Fig. 436.

³ *Journal of Archæol. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 328.

⁴ I am indebted for these details to Captain Thomas, R.N., to whom the notes were supplied by Mr. Rendall.

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FIG. 160.



FIG. 167.

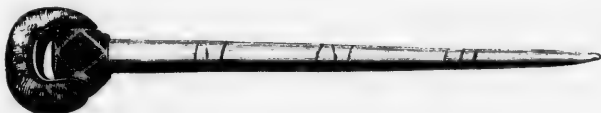


FIG. 165.



FIG. 164.



FIG. 168.

BRONZE PINS.

be desired, they supply an interesting series of data in illustration of the sepulchral relics of Orkney belonging to the latest Pagan era.

The following group of graves was found near the sea-shore, on the Links of Pier-o-waal, Orkney, on a line running north and south.

No. 1. This grave appeared to have been previously disturbed. Sufficient traces of the skeleton were found to indicate that the body had lain north and south, rather inclining to the right side, with the face towards the sea. Only half of the skull remained, and from its appearance it might have been cleft when interred. A small iron hatchet lay before the body. Half of a helmet was also discovered, and small pieces of iron were scattered around, apparently indicating that the occupant of the grave had been buried in armour.

No. 2 contained part of a human skeleton along with that of a horse. The horse lay on its belly, with its head towards the sea, and directly north-east, with its hinder parts towards the south-west. The horse's head, which was quite entire and of rather a small size, was resting on the nose. On removing it, an iron bit, with one of the bridle-rings attached, was found between its jaws. The remains of the human skeleton were lying immediately in front of the horse's head, with the feet towards the north, and the thigh bones crossed. No skull could be found. On the right side of the skeleton lay a buckle and a piece of bone which had been attached to metal. A piece of iron, either a small sword or a spear-head, and considerable remains of iron rust, showed that in this case also the deceased warrior had been laid to rest accompanied with the panoply of war. Part of the skeleton of a dog was discovered in the same grave. No. 3 also contained portions both of a human skeleton and of a horse. The position of the former could not be

ascertained. Beside it lay a small dagger, and other remains of iron weapons or armour were found in fragments in the grave. No. 4 contained a skeleton, lying north and south, on its right side, and with the knees drawn up towards the abdomen. No remains of armour were found.

This interesting group of early graves appears to have been entirely distinct from those alluded to in Mr. T. Crofton Croker's account. The second group, to which he refers, is described by Mr. Rendall as having been discovered surrounding a tumulus, or mound of sand and small stones, at a considerable distance from the sea, in a line running north-west from the former site of graves.

No. 1 was found on the south-west side of the mound. It contained a large male skeleton nearly entire, lying north and south, with the head to the north, and having large stones set round it in a square form: doubtless the usual rude cist so generally adopted in the Pagan sepulture of the north of Europe. After carefully removing the sand, the skeleton was discovered lying inclined towards the left side, with the knees drawn up, and the arms crossing over the breast. About two inches from the top of the head was found a cup-like piece of iron, described by Mr. Rendall as "evidently the part of a helmet." Notwithstanding its position, however, it was more probably the umbone of a shield, of which other remains were discovered in the cist, consisting of pieces of wood, with fragments of the iron covering still adhering to them. On the left side of the skeleton lay an iron sword, measuring about four feet in length; a large sharpening stone, a comb, and several glass beads, were also found in the grave.

No. 2. On the north side of the mound a second grave was opened, which contained a small skeleton, lying

north and south, and supposed by Mr. Rendall to have been a female. In this and the following examples, the position differed from that previously described, in having the head to the south. No fragments of iron or indications of rust suggested the former presence of arms or armour, but on the breast lay a pair of the large oval or shell-shaped brooches, already described; and lower down, right over the region of the stomach, was found another ornament of the class of trefoil-shaped clasps, described by Mr. Worsaae, in his *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, as occasionally found in connexion with the oval brooches. No. 3. A third grave, opened on the

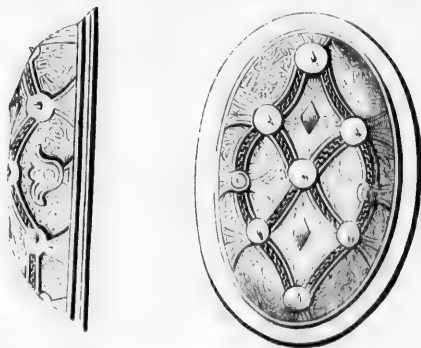


FIG. 170. — Pier-a-wal Oval Brooch.

north side of the mound, disclosed a small skeleton lying between two rows of stones. This appears to have been the grave most minutely described and illustrated in Mr. T. Crofton Croker's communication to the *Journal of the Archaeological Society*.¹ It also contained a pair of the large oval brooches, one of which is here figured

¹ Mr. Rendall's own notes are followed in the text, with such additional information as the notes and sketches of Captain Thomas have supplied. They differ considerably from the description given in the *Archaeological Journal*. In this grave, for example, Mr. Rendall remarks, "no remains of iron were found." It appears probable, therefore, that some confusion exists in the previous account.

one-fourth the original size. Two long combs, decorated on each side with ornamental carvings, were found, one of them above each shoulder. The teeth of the combs were fastened between two plates of bone, riveted together with copper nails. A small bronze pin or bodkin was likewise picked up among the interesting contents of this cist. In this case also the skeleton is believed by Mr. Rendall to have been that of a female: an opinion which coincides with the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Worsaae,¹ though the very large size of the brooches seems more suited for the personal decorations of the chieftain or the priest.

No. 4 was another cist on the north side of the mound, but it had been previously disturbed, and contained only portions of a human skeleton. No. 5 was opened on the

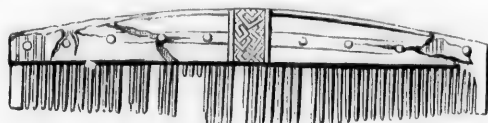


FIG. 171.—Pier-o-waal Comb.

north-east side of the mound. It enclosed part of a small skeleton, which Mr. Rendall pronounces to be "evidently that of a female." This also contained a pair of oval brooches, an ornamental pin or bodkin, and a pair of combs. The woodcut represents one of the combs, which was presented to Mr. Croker. It is much to be regretted that so valuable a series of Scoto-Scandinavian relics, thus brought to light by the disturbance of this tumular cemetery, has been dispersed in many private hands, so as to be irrecoverably lost. The value of such a collection for the illustration of an important period in our national history would have been fully appreciated could the entire collection have been kept together, and deposited in some accessible public museum.

¹ *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 53.

Such are some illustrations of the traces of Scandinavian influence which the Scottish archæologist meets with in the course of his researches. They all belong to a comparatively recent period; and of the beautiful class of personal ornaments, the oval brooches, which are so frequently found, Mr. Worsaae remarks, "That they are positively to be referred to the last period of Paganism we know with complete certainty, because they are frequently found in graves in Iceland, which country was first peopled by Pagan Norwegians at the close of the ninth century." Long before that date, however, Christianity had reached the Scottish shores; and though impeded, and even frequently eradicated from districts where it had taken deep root, chiefly by the malign influence of these very Pagan Northmen, we have no reason to think it was ever entirely extinct. Hence we are abundantly justified in claiming a native origin for the Pagan arts of Scotland, and in referring all Scandinavian influence to a late period and a very limited locality.

One other singular class of Northern relics of which analogous types have been found in Scotland, remains to be noticed. These consist of a curious variety of vessels, presumed to have been designed for holding liquors, but invariably made in the form of some animal or monstrous hybrid. They differ entirely from any of the antiquities hitherto noticed, and more nearly resemble ancient Indian bronzes than the relics of early Northern art. The following figure represents one of these bronze ewers in the collection of the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., and now in the British Museum. Of its previous history nothing is known.¹ The principal figure

¹ This bronze was stated by Mr. Sharpe to have been found among a hoard of family heirlooms, in a vault of his paternal mansion of Hoddam Castle, Dumfriesshire; but information obtained since his death proves this to have been a mistake.

is a lion, without a tail, measuring fourteen inches in length, and nearly the same in greatest height. On the back is perched a nondescript animal, half greyhound, half fish, apparently intended for a handle to the whole, while from the breast projects a stag's head with large antlers. This has a perforation in the back of the neck, as if for the insertion of a stop-cock, and it appears probable was designed for running off the liquid contained within the singular vessel to which it is attached. A small square lid on the top of the lion's head, opening with a hinge, supplies the requisite aperture for filling



FIG. 172.—Ikon Ewer

it with whatever liquor it was designed to hold. A relic, possessed by Sir John Maxwell, Bart., bearing considerable resemblance to this, with the exception of the stag's head, was dug up a few years since on the Pollock estate; and another ewer in the collection of the late Mr. E. W. A. Drummond Hay, was also in the form of a lion. The conclusion which the appearance of the whole of these relics would suggest to an observer unfamiliar with Northern antiquities, would certainly be that they were the products of ancient Indian rather than of Scandinavian art. The following account, how-

ever, derived from Kluver's *Norwegian Antiquities*,¹ will show that they are well known not only in Norway and Denmark, but even in Iceland: that interesting Northern treasury of the later relics of Scandinavian art. "On the farm of Vaaden, about five miles southwest from Drontheim, there was found some years ago in a field, and at no great distance from the surface, an animal form with beak and wings. In its beak it carries a man wearing a kirtle and closed helmet, booted and spurred. The figure, which is of brass composition, weighs five and one-half pounds. It is hollow internally. There is an aperture on the neck of the animal, which has been provided with a lid, and another aperture in the back of the helmet worn by the mailed figure which it carries in its beak. Another animal figure has been preserved from time immemorial, at Moldè, a small seaport a little to the south of Drontheim. It resembles a unicorn, and has an aperture in the neck, to which obviously a lid had been attached. From the handle along the back, which represents a serpent, and the circumstance of the horn in the forehead being hollow, it may reasonably be conjectured to have been used as a liquor decanter. A third figure of a similar description, which is said to have been found under-ground at Helgeland—a province situated to the northward of Drontheim,—represents a knight mounted on a piebald horse in complete armour, wearing a coat of ring-mail, a square helmet with vizor down, and carrying a drawn sword in his hand. In this figure likewise there is an aperture in the upper part of the helmet, and another in the forehead of the horse."

The whole of those singular groups are figured in Kluver's work, and it will be seen that they correspond in many respects to the example figured here. The

¹ *Norste Mindesmappe*, Christiania, 1823, pp. 46-48, Plate II. Figs. a, b, c.

costume of the knights in two of them shows that they cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the latter part of the thirteenth century. They are all nearly of the same proportions, measuring about ten inches in length, and six inches in height, exclusive of the mailed knight mounted on the horse in the figure last described. Another curious specimen of the same class of antiquities, in which the principal figure is a lion, has been preserved for ages in the church of St. Olaf, at Vatnsfjord, in Iceland, and is described by Professor Sjöborg, who conceives it to have been used as a lamp. It is also referred to by Professor Finn Magnussen in the following remarks on those figured by Kluver:—"These curious liquor decanters—of which various specimens exist in Denmark and other countries,—are of a very remarkable formation. The two first seem to bespeak an origin in the heathen mythology. Assuming that even in the middle ages or at a later period they were used in the rites of the Catholic Church, as in the instance of a like vessel, known by the name of the Thorlacian, presented to the church at Vatnsfjord, still it is by no means certain that such was their original purpose. Many articles, such as tapestries, cups, vases, candlesticks, etc., were used as household commodities before they were diverted to ecclesiastical purposes. In the same way these liquor decanters, which neither bear the forms nor devices of Christian art, have probably been originally adapted to another use." It will be readily admitted that these relics present little appearance of having been designed as any of the sacred vessels of the medieval church; nevertheless little doubt can be entertained that they were so used in the north, and perhaps at an early period throughout Christendom, as part of the furniture of the altar. Professor Munch, who examined the example figured above, in the collection of Mr. Sharpe,

observed in a letter written after his return to Norway : "Notwithstanding their fantastic shapes, of some four-footed beast, they were used upon the altar as vessels containing the water which the officiating Diaconus poured upon the hands of the priest before his touching the host at the elevation. I understand from Mr. Thomsen, who learned it from a Frenchman educated at Smyrna, that such vessels are still used for the same purpose in the Roman Catholic chapels in the Levant. It is therefore probable that those found in Norway have either been brought from Byzantium, or made after Byzantine models ;" so that the ecclesiastical appropriation of these singular relics seems to be much more probable than their Scandinavian origin. In Iceland, the ancient seat of colonization of the Northmen on the verge of the Arctic Circle, as well as among the modern churchmen of Southern Europe, we find them devoted to the same sacred uses ; while to all appearance they seem more adapted to social purposes, which, among the northern nations especially, are most allied to excess.

The varied illustrations thus recoverable, of the arts and influence of the Northmen, are full of interest as the materials of a highly important chapter of Scottish history. But beautiful as some of the relics of Scandinavian art undoubtedly are, they cannot be considered equal to the finest contemporary examples of native workmanship. The Hunterston brooch, though engraved with Northern runes, presents in all other respects a striking contrast to the most beautiful of the brooches wrought after the native models of the Scandinavian artist. The fine silver brooch (Fig. 159) found in the vicinity of the mounds of Dunipace, further illustrated here in some of its details (Fig. 173) ; and the beautiful bronze one (Plate XVIII. Fig. 174), show the

essential difference between the styles of Celtic and Norse art. Compared with the finest examples of the latter, such as the Caithness oval brooch, they are characterized by a more defined and purer style of design, and by superior workmanship; such as the Northmen only attained to in the eleventh century, when, following the example of their king, Olave Tryggveson, they accepted the faith of the Christian islanders, and partook of its civilizing and refining influences. The patterns wrought on the acus of the Dunipace brooch, which are partially concealed in the complete view (Plate XVIII.



FIG. 173.—Dunipace Brooch.

Fig. 159) by the central ornament, are shown in Fig. 173. In its imperfect state it is sufficiently apparent that the acus had been of the same disproportionate length as is frequently found in Irish examples, otherwise greatly varying in form. This is particularly the case with the ring fibulæ, generally of silver. One of these, found in county Antrim, and engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, measures above six and a quarter inches long,¹ while a larger and still more beautiful example, in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, is nearly fourteen

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. vi. p. 70.

inches in length. This singular feature in the brooches of the early Christian Period both of Scotland and Ireland, most probably had its origin in some peculiar fashion of the Celtic dress, superseded in the former country during the vital changes which affected it in the eleventh century. Two fine examples of the Scottish fibula, of the same type as the Dunipace brooch, but of less costly material, are shown on Plate XVIII. Figs. 174, 175. Like it, Fig. 174 has also been jewelled, and is otherwise little inferior in point of workmanship, though made of bronze. The original, which is now in the Dungannon Collection, was found among a quantity of old brass in a brazier's shop in Glasgow; so that nothing is known of its previous history. The other bronze brooch (Fig. 175) I discovered in the possession of a Canadian farmer, whose father had brought it, with a few other family heirlooms, from Ross-shire. Both of those examples are engraved the same size as the originals.

The brooch has always been a favourite Celtic ornament, and is indeed almost indispensable to the Highland costume. It is still worn universally by the Scottish Highlanders, both male and female; and in many Highland families, of various ranks, favourite brooches have been preserved through many generations, as heirlooms which no pecuniary inducement would tempt their humblest owner to part with. The most celebrated of those is the brooch of Lorn, engraved on Plate IV. According to ancient tradition, this beautiful Celtic fibula was dropt by Robert the Bruce after the defeat of his followers at Methven, when he was compelled to abandon his mantle and the brooch which fastened it, to rid himself of an assailant who held it in his dying grasp. This interesting historic memorial is still preserved by the lineal descendant of the Mac-

dougals of Lorn,¹ and appears to have furnished the model for other Highland brooches. Pennant describes and engraves one made after the same pattern, though differing in its details. It was originally a family heirloom of the Macleans of Lochbuy, in Mull, and is traditionally reputed to have been made about A.D. 1500, by a native artificer, from silver ore found on the Lochbuy estate. This beautiful brooch latterly formed one of the treasures of the Bernal collection, and on its dispersion in 1855, was purchased for the British Museum.² Another remarkable relic of the same class is the Glenlyon brooch, which has been preserved in the family of the Campbells of Glenlyon for many generations. It is circular, and of silver, richly jewelled. An ornamental bar, also jewelled, crosses the centre, and two tongues meet on this from opposite sides. It is engraved on Plate xx., from careful drawings made from the original. On the lower side are the names of the three Magi or Kings of Cologne, a favourite inscription on medieval amulets, thus,—

Caspar . Melchior . Baltazar . Consumatum .

Pennant has engraved this ancient Scottish brooch, but the representation conveys a very partial idea of the

¹ Scott, in his *Notes to the Lord of the Isles*, remarks that the brooch of Lorn "was long preserved in the family of Macdougall, and was lost in a fire which consumed their temporary residence." This though true in fact conveys an erroneous impression. The brooch was indeed lost under the circumstances referred to, but being recovered from the ruins, it passed into other hands, and was only restored to the representative of the Macdougalls by General Campbell of Lochmell, at the Argyleshire county meeting in 1825. —MS. Letter, John Macdougall of Macdougall, Esq., Captain R.N., to E. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., March 1828. The engraving on Plate v. is from a drawing taken from the original, which was forwarded for that purpose by Captain Macdougall.

² Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 14; Bohn's *Guide to the Knowledge of Pottery, Porcelain, &c.*, p. 348.

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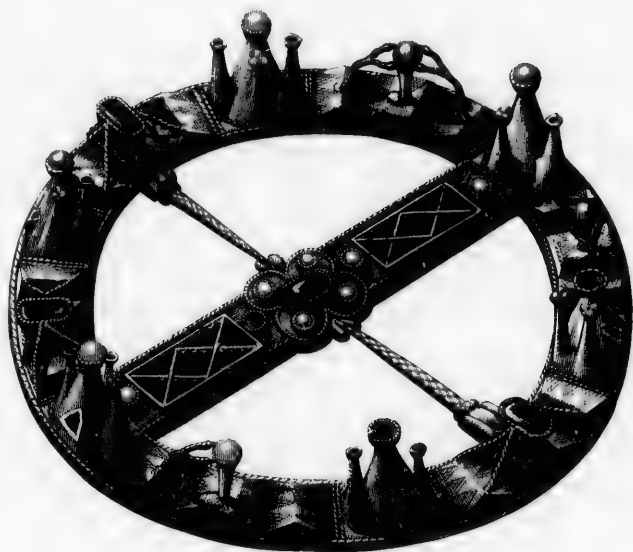
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rude magnificence of the original, which measures five and a half inches in circumference.¹

With the native personal ornaments, introduced here for the purpose of comparison and contrast with those traceable to a Scandinavian source, a class of silver brooches, of various forms, may be noticed, which are frequently found in Scotland, and are not unfamiliar to English antiquaries. They are invariably inscribed with some sacred formula or charm, the most common one being **IESUS NAZARENUS**. One example, in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, is a small octagonal fibula, said to have been discovered in excavating the tomb of King Robert the Bruce, at Dunfermline, in 1818, inscribed, **Iesus . Nazarenus . Rex . Judeorum**. This legend also occurs on a circular silver brooch, in the same collection, found, along with two others of different forms, in the ruins of Middlebie Church, Annandale. Another octagonal brooch, of larger size and superior workmanship to that found in the Bruce's tomb, but with its inscription abbreviated to **Iesus . Nazar**, was recovered a few years since from among the ruins of Eilan Donan Castle, the ancient stronghold of the Mackenzies on Loch Duich. Such Christian amulets indeed appear to have been exceedingly common, so that examples might be greatly multiplied; but most if not all of them belong to a later period than that of the Scoto-Scandinavian and Celtic relics, or the contemporary specimens of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, graven in Northern or Saxon Runes.

¹ Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 104, Plate xiii.

CHAPTER V.

ANGLO-SAXON RELICS.

THE traces of Anglo-Saxon influence, which are so abundant in the southern part of the island, are rare and slight even in the border counties of Scotland, and scarcely discernible to the north of the Forth. The Pagan Saxon is there displaced by the Northman, both Fingall and Dubhgall, or Norwegian and Dane; and the footprints of the Germanic invaders, by whom England was so effectually Saxonized, are far less discernible than those of still older Roman intruders. Nevertheless it is in this northern region, apparently, and within a few miles of the Forth, that the oldest names in Anglo-Saxon genealogies are still decipherable on the venerable *Catt Stane*. According to the oldest surviving legends of Saxon settlement in England, "in the reign of Vortigern, there came three keels from Germany, in which were Horsa and Hengest, who were brothers, and sons of Vietgels, son of Vetta, son of Vieta, son of Wooden." So says Nennius dating the event, in the oldest version, A.D. 374.¹ Bede—whose statement, founded on the earlier history of Gildas, with the help of other authorities and traditions, is the basis of all later accounts,—repeats nearly the same narrative, though he assigns to it the

¹ "Skene on the early Frisian Settlements in Scotland."—*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. iv. p. 171

date of A.D. 449. But we also learn from Nennius¹ that Oeta and Elissa, the son and nephew of Hengist whom Skene conceives to have been leaders of a Frisian colony into North Britain,—came over, at his invitation, with a numerous body of followers. Their fleet consisted of forty keels, with which they coasted Pietland, wasted the Orkneys, and then “occupied many regions beyond the Mare Frisicum, as far as the confines of the Picts.” It is not, therefore, without such support as the amplifications of Nennius or Gildas the Wise may seem to supply, that the name of Vetta the son of Victus is read on the old monolith of the Lothians, and interpreted as that of the ancestor of the first Saxon colonists of Kent.

When Northern barbarians began the devastation of the continental provinces of Rome, Jutes, Angles, Frisians, and Saxons hastened to divide among them the insular provinces; and towards the middle of the sixth century the Northumbrian Kingdom was founded by the Angles under Ida, and extended its frontier to the Forth. But the Scotie race of Mac Eare was already laying the foundation of the little kingdom of Dalriada, which ultimately gave a ruler of Celtic blood to the united kingdom of Scot, Piet, Gael, and Norseman. The Britons of Strath-Clyde appear to have found in their Scotie neighbours alternate opponents and allies against the common English foe. The Celtic Eildon is referred to in the Saxon Chronicle, under the name of *Edwin's Cliff*, when referring to one of the battles of the Northumbrian Edwin, whose name is perpetuated alongside of that of the British Arthur, in the Edwinsburg of the Lothians. Again the name of the Saxon Athelstane mingles, in the tenth century, with the strife of Northumbrians, Danes, Scottish Northmen, and Picts, in the traditions of the Lothians; and such names as Athel

¹ Irish Nennius, p. 29.

staneford, Edgerstons, and Edington, still commemorate the intrusion of the race destined to ultimate predominance in the Scottish Lowlands. The beginning of the tenth century is noted in the Saxon Chronicles for Athelstane's harrying of Scotland; and Simeon of Durham records this raid as far as the ancient Pictish capital of Forteviot in Perthshire.¹ But Northumbria itself was becoming more Danish than English or Saxon; and notwithstanding the triumphs of the warlike Athelstane, a large portion of the kingdom to the south of the Forth appears to have passed almost immediately on his death, under the temporary rule of Olave Sitricsen. Beyond the Forth, however, as well as in Cumbria and Strath Clyde, the Celtic race predominated; and by intermarriage and friendly alliances, incorporated, under the rule of a native line of sovereigns, Norwegian, English, Saxon, and Norman colonists; until in the War of Independence Celt and Teuton as one people, united in transferring the crown of Canmore to the Bruce.

From the Roman period downwards, the course of events by which such important ethnological changes were wrought throughout the British Isles, differed essentially in Scotland, alike in their operations and results, from those which Saxonized England, and gave predominance to the intruding Saxon and Norman in Wales and Ireland. In Scotland the native race was never formally superseded. There the Celtic element merged into the Saxon by gradual and peaceful steps; or when the Highland fastnesses gave shelter to the Celtic stock, it was not as refugees from the conquering Saxon, but as the clansmen of native chiefs who still proudly trace their descent from Mac Alpin, Ferchar Fada, and other nobles of the race of the Gael.

Hence it is that any well-defined traces of art peculiar

¹ *Sim. Dun.* ann. 934.

to the Angle or Saxon, are rare even in the southern Lowlands; and seldom present such contrasts to those of the older native race as mark the distinction between British and Anglo-Saxon remains in the south. The place of the latter is there pre-occupied by the Northmen, whose literate and artistic remains have already attracted our attention; and the only relics of any importance marked by essential English or Saxon characteristics, belong to the later era of their Christian arts. But among the latter, one monument is included which illustrates in a singularly interesting form the æsthetic taste and poetical refinement of the Northumbrian Angles; and in these respects surpasses in value all the memorials which so graphically perpetuate the influence of the Pagan and Christian Northmen on early Scottish history. The legitimate significance, moreover, which attaches to the Runic monument now referred to, has acquired an additional interest from the curious literary controversy to which the venerable relic of Anglo-Saxon art has given rise. This is the celebrated cross of Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, inscribed not in Northern but Anglo-Saxon Runes. Like the few English examples yet discovered, it is in the Northumbrian dialect of Anglo-Saxon; and is therefore traceable, not to that northern intrusion of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic races which we have hitherto considered, and by which the old Celtic race of Scotland has been so greatly modified; but to the influx of that English race from the shores of the German Ocean by which the Celtic occupants of the Scottish Lowlands and the whole Northumbrian kingdom, were ultimately superseded. The Ruthwell inscription may be referred to now without any risk of its confusion with Scandinavian epigraphy, though it was at one time classed with those inscribed in the old Norse characters and dialect. Mr. Kemble has justly

remarked in reference to such indiscriminating blundering, that "the characters of the Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Icelanders, are not less distinct from those of the Goths, High and Low Germans, and Anglo Saxons, than the languages of the several nations which they represented."¹ The Ruthwell cross is unquestionably graven in the characters and the language of Saxon Northumbria, and as the most important Runic monument in Britain, it has excited an attention fully equal to the great interest pertaining to it. A beautiful engraving of it in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*, accompanied with careful facsimiles of the inscriptions, admits of its consideration here without the necessity of any minute description.

Setting aside certain vague local traditions recorded in the first Statistical Account of the Parish of Ruthwell, we obtain the earliest authentic notice of the cross only in the seventeenth century, at which time it appears to have still remained in the parish church, uninjured by any of those earlier ebullitions of misdirected popular zeal to which so many Scottish relics of Christian art fell a prey. When, however, the struggle between Charles I. and his people was rapidly hastening to a crisis, and religious differences were forced by many concurrent influences into violent collision, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which met at St. Andrews in the month of July 1642, passed an order decreeing the demolition of the Ruthwell cross as a monument of idolatry. The order met with a less hearty and thorough-going execution than might have been anticipated from the spirit prevailing at a period when the whole course of public events had tended to inflame men's minds to the utmost. The column, however, was thrown down and broken in several pieces ;

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 327.

but it still lay in the church, and was examined there by Pennant so recently as 1772. Soon after this, however, it was cast out into the churchyard, where its exposure to weather, and its liability to careless and wanton mutilation, threatened at length most effectually to accomplish the object of the General Assembly's Order of 1642. Fortunately at this stage the Rev. Dr. Duncan was presented to the parish; by whom the fragments of the venerable memorial were pieced together, and re-erected within the friendly shelter of the manse garden: a monument to his own good taste, with which his name will be associated by thousands who know not the large-hearted benevolence and piety with which he adorned the sacred office he filled.

Not content, however, with merely restoring the venerable memorial, Dr. Duncan executed careful drawings of it, from which the engravings in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Scotica* were made. These are accompanied with a history from his pen, and an accurate translation of the Latin inscription, which is cut in Roman characters on the back and front of the cross. Of the Runic inscription, which occupies the remaining sides of the monument, Dr. Duncan attempted no more than to furnish the Scottish antiquaries with an accurate copy; leaving those who deemed themselves able for the task to encounter its difficulties, and render an intelligible version of its meaning. This was accordingly undertaken by Mr. Thorleif G. Repp, a learned northern scholar, and a native of Iceland, then resident in Edinburgh, who, reading the letters correctly enough, proceeded to weave them into imaginary words and sentences, partly of his own Icelandic or old Norse tongue, by means of which he made out the inscription to record "a gift for the expiation of an injury, of a *cristpason* or baptismal font, of eleven pounds weight, made by the

authority of the Therfusian fathers, for the devastation of the fields." Other portions of the inscription were made to supply the name of the devastated locality, "The dale of Ashlafr," a place as little heard of before as were its holy conservators, the monks of Therfuse! Dr. Duncan remarks, in furnishing an abstract of Mr. Repp's rendering of the Ruthwell Runes: "It is obvious that, in future inquiries on this subject, it will be of considerable importance to fix the locality of *Ashlafardhal* and *Therfuse*!" The accurate drawings of Dr. Duncan, however, published as they were to the learned world by the Scottish antiquaries, had at length supplied the most important desiderata towards the elucidation of the old Anglo-Saxon memorial. Professor Finn Magnusen was the first to avail himself of the new elements for the satisfactory investigation of this venerable Teutonic relic, and published, in Danish, in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1836-37, and nearly at the same time in English, in the "Report addressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members," a revised version of the Ruthwell inscription, in which, while confirming the somewhat startling opinion of Mr. Repp, that it was in a language consisting both of Anglo-Saxon and old Northern words, he arrives at very different, but still more precise conclusions. The learned Dane, however, had obtained, as he conceived, a source of information which not even the zealous incumbent of Ruthwell parish had access to. "Fortunately," says he, "we are in possession of what must be admitted to be an important document in the case before us, a document the existence of which was unknown as well to Mr. Repp as, to the best of our belief, to all others now living, that have devoted attention to the monument in question. Dr. Duncan observes that the capital of the column, which in the delineations

he gives of it shows no characters or traces of such, had, however, formerly inscriptions, now quite illegible. The greater part of them, meanwhile, are found on a delineation of the two broader sides of the said capital, which, together with the two Runic sides of the whole column (consequently more of it than has been given by Hickes or Gordon), is to be seen on a large folio copperplate engraving, now the property of me, Finn Magnussen. It was given to me some years ago by my much lamented friend and predecessor, Professor Thorkelin, who, however, his memory being impaired by age, could not remember anything more about it than that it represented a column in Scotland, and that he had obtained it, he knew not how or of whom, during his travels in Britain."¹

This rare and indeed seemingly unique print Professor Magnussen accordingly designates the "Thorkelin Engraving." Its age he conceives must be about 150 years, or perhaps still older. "Be this as it may," he adds, "it serves to throw a new and most important light—in fact, the most important yet obtained,—on the design and purpose of the column, inasmuch as it has preserved the initial words of its inscription, setting forth that one *Ofu*, a descendant of Voda, had caused it to be cut," etc. Accordingly, setting aside the humbler attempts of Mr. Repp, the Danish professor substitutes a *marriage* for the *devastation* of his predecessor, discovers four important historical personages in the record, nearly fixes the precise year A.D. 650 for the handfasting, and altogether furnishes an entirely new chapter of Anglo-Saxon history, based almost entirely on this Thorkelin print! Some northern scholars, more familiar with Anglo-Saxon literature than Professor Magnussen, adopted the very summary process of dealing with the new element thus

¹ Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members, 1836, pp. 88, 89.

unexpectedly brought to bear on the inquiry, by doubting the authenticity, if not even the existence, of this unique print. In this, however, they did him great injustice. Of its existence there can be no doubt, since, instead of being the rarity which Professor Magnusen imagined, it is to be found in every archæological library in the kingdom, being none other (as I think will no longer be doubted,) than one of two etchings, executed by the well-known Scottish antiquary, Mr. Adam de Cardonnel, and forming Plates LIV. and LV. of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii., published in 1789. These are accompanied by a description furnished by R. G. (Richard Gough), and to it the following postscript has subsequently been added, which it will be seen supplies the account Professor Magnusen failed to obtain from his aged friend: "Since this account was read before the Society [of Antiquaries of London], the drawing has been shown to Mr. Professor Thorkelin, who has been investigating all such monuments of his countrymen in this kingdom, but he has not returned any opinion." These engravings of the Ruthwell inscription appear to have excited little interest, probably on account of their being accompanied by no critical analysis or attempt at translation. They would seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Kemble, otherwise he would have found there all that the drawings of Dr. Duncan supply, with, indeed, some slight additions; for it chanced oddly enough that the old Scottish antiquary has copied the Anglo-Saxon Runes—about which it may reasonably be doubted if he knew anything,—a great deal more correctly than the Latin inscription in familiar Roman characters, some of which he has contrived to render totally unintelligible. It was probably a result of this carelessness, that in arranging a broken fragment of the top of the cross, along with the lower stem, he misplaced

the parts, wedding the imperfect upper fragments of the Latin to the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon inscription. The offspring of this misalliance was the *Ofa, Voden's kinsman*, of Professor Magnusen, whose double genealogy is given with amusing precision, "according to the Younger Edda!" The slightest glance at Cardonnel's etchings will show that the learned Dane, in attempting to decipher this supposed invaluable addition, was only torturing ill-copied Roman characters into convenient Northern or Anglo-Saxon Runes.

In 1838, Mr. John M. Kemble, the distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar, undertook to unwind this ravelled skein, and in an able paper "On Anglo-Saxon Runes,"¹ pointed out the valuelessness of any amount of knowledge of the Scandinavian languages as a means for deciphering Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. Following out his own views he accordingly produced a translation differing, *toto celo*, from either of those already referred to, but which commends itself in some degree even to the mere English student, who detects in the old Anglo-Saxon the radicals of his native tongue; as in the original of Mr. Repp's *Cristpason*:—KRIST WAES ON RODI,

Christ was on the Rood or Cross. Combating with the difficulties arising solely from the mutilated and fragmentary state of what Mr. Kemble so justly styles "this noble monument of Anglo-Saxon antiquity," he demonstrates the rhythmic character of the construction, deducing from this the strongest proof of the accuracy of his reading. Still, should the reader, who is thus compelled to consider two learned versions of this inscription as no better than the antiquary's *Agricola dicarit libens libens*, hesitate about accepting the third as less open to challenge, his scepticism could not perhaps be greatly blamed. A remarkable chance, however,

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 327.

threw in the way of the intelligent Anglo-Saxon scholar an altogether indisputable confirmation of the general accuracy of the conclusions he had arrived at. A comparison of the various steps in this process of elucidation furnishes one of the most singular modern contributions to the curiosities of literature. A few years ago a MS. volume, consisting chiefly of Anglo-Saxon homilies, was discovered at Vercelli, in the Milanese, but which also contained, intermingled with the prose, some Anglo-Saxon religious poems. One of these, entitled a "Dream of the Holy Rood," extends to 310 lines, and in this are found the whole of the fragmentary lines previously translated by Mr. Kemble, along with the context which fills up the numerous lacunæ of the time-worn inscription on the Ruthwell cross. No confirmation of the accuracy of conclusions previously published could well be more gratifying or satisfactory than this; independently of which the beauty of the Anglo-Saxon poem suffices to convey a singularly vivid idea of the civilisation existing at the period—probably not later than the ninth century,—when it was engraved on the venerable Scottish monument which, with some portion of its former beauty renewed by the piety of modern hands, has been restored to the occupation of its ancient site. Of the high civilisation of this period, however, the student of Anglo-Saxon history can need no new proof when he bears in mind, as Mr. Kemble has remarked, "that before the close of the eighth century Northumberland was more advanced in civilisation than any other portion of Teutonic Europe."

The "Dream of the Holy Rood" represents the sleeping Christian suddenly startled by the vision of the Cross, which appears in the sky attended with angels, and manifesting, by various changes, its sympathy in the passion and the glory of the Redeemer. At length

the Cross itself addresses the sleeper, and describes its feelings on being made the instrument of the sufferings of the Son of God. It is from this beautiful part of the poem that the verses have been selected for inscription on the Ruthwell cross. The following extracts, in which the fragments still legible on the old monument are printed in *italics*, will help the reader to form some idea of the refinement of the period when the cross was erected; and may also suffice to show how little need there is to seek in Scandinavian, or other foreign sources, for the taste or skill manifested in the works of early native art. The Cross thus speaks in person :—

'Twas many a year ago,
I yet remember it,
That I was hewn down
At the wood's end,
Stirred from out my dream.
Strong foes took me there,
They made me for a spectacle,
They bade me uplift their outcasts :
There men bore me upon their shoulders
Until they set me down upon a hill,
There foes enough fastened me.
There saw I the Lord of mankind
Hasten with mighty power,
Because he would mount on me.
There then I dared not,
Against the Lord's command,
Bow down or burst asunder ;
There I saw tremble
The extent of the earth.
I had power all
His foes to fell,
But yet I stood fast.
*Then the young hero prepared himself,
That was Almighty God,
Strong and firm of mood
He mounted the lofty cross,
Courageously in sight of many,
When he willed to redeem mankind.*
I trembled when the hero embraced me,
Yet dared I not bow down to earth,
Fall to the bosom of the ground,

But I was compelled to stand fast.
A cross was I reared.
*I raised the powerful king,
The lord of the heavens ;
I dared not fall down.*
They pierced me with dark nails,
On me are the wounds visible !

*They reviled us both together.
I was all stained with blood
Poured from the man's side.*

The shadow went forth,
Wan under the welkin :
All creation wept ;
They mourned the fall of their king.
*Christ was on the cross,
Yet thither hastening,
Men came from afar
Unto the noble one.*
*All that beheld I,
With sorrow I was overwhelmed.*

The warriors left me there
Standing defiled with gore ;
*I was all wounded with shafts.
They laid him down limb-weary,
They stood at the corpse's head ;
They beheld the Lord of heaven,
And he rested himself there awhile,
Weary after his mighty contest.*

This curious poem is marked, Mr. Kemble conceives, by evidence of modern handling ; but Mr. D. H. Haigh adopts an opposite opinion, and conceives that we may possess, in the Ruthwell strophes, the fragments of a poem from the pen of the elder Caedmon, graven during the lifetime of its author. "That they belong to the seventh century," he remarks, "cannot be doubted ; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier even than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bede's verses in a ms. at S. Gallen, and the copy of Caedmon's first song at the end of the ms. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was completed two years after its author's death."¹ Of the general identity between the poem and the inscription, however, not the slightest doubt can exist ; and we therefore no longer depend on any future discovery for supplying the deficiencies of the Runie legend, though we can only guess as to the full extent to which it was carried in its original form. "It always seemed probable," says Mr. Kemble, in concluding his observations on the old Scottish monument, "that much of the inscription was missing, and the comparison instituted above renders this certain. The passages which remain are too fragmentary ever to have constituted a substantive whole, without very considerable additions, which there is no longer room for upon the cross in its present form. Buried perhaps beneath the soil of the churchyard, or worked into the walls of neighbouring habitations, the supplementary fragments may yet be reserved for a late resurrection. Should they ever again meet the eyes of men, they will add little to our knowledge ; still we should rejoice to find them once again resuming their old place in the pillar, and helping to reconstruct in its original form the most

¹ *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 39

beautiful as well as the most interesting relic of Teutonic antiquity."¹

It would be vain to speculate now on the probability of the former existence of such monuments in other localities, when it is considered that in the great majority of cases scarcely a relic remains even of the ancient parish churches of Scotland, built after the final establishment of a Teutonic population in the low country.



FIG. 170. Hoddam Cross.

One other Runic monument, however, is known to have existed in the same district down to a very recent period. The late Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe informed me that a sculptured stone built into the wall of the ancient church of Hoddam, bore an inscription of some length, in Runic characters. Of this he made a copy before the final demolition of the ruined church in 1845, but he had since sought for the transcript in vain. The original,

¹ *Antiquary*, vol. xxx, p. 38.

it is to be feared, no longer exists ; but among various sculptured fragments rescued by him from the ruins, and now in the Scottish Antiquarian collection, are portions of the shaft of a cross (Fig. 176), divided into compartments, with sculptured figures of ecclesiastics or saints in relief, each with a nimbus around his head and a book in his hand, and bearing, in the general style of its decoration, considerable resemblance to that on the Ruthwell cross. That the venerable ecclesiastical edifice included in its masonry relies of still earlier date, has already been shown by the rescue of a Roman altar from its ruined walls, dedicated by a cohort of German auxiliaries to imperial Jove.

Various other memorials of Anglian literate art have been discovered within the bounds of the Northumbrian kingdom, though beyond the Scottish border. Among the most beautiful of these is the cross at Bewcastle, which has been assigned, from one rendering of its half-defaced Runes, as the memorial cross of Alefrida, the son of Oswin, king of Northumbria in the middle of the seventh century. If so, it will go far to determine the date of the Ruthwell cross ; for though greatly more mutilated, it closely corresponds to it both in its sculptures and minuter ornamental details. But a still greater interest attaches to a square font at Bridekirk, Cumberland, which long baffled all attempts at interpreting the Runic inscription inwoven among its elaborate sculptures. This, however, Mr. Haigh has deciphered, as graven in Runes of the Northern Futhork,¹ supplemented by the additional characters of the more extended Anglo-Saxon alphabet. There is nothing in this intermingling of closely allied alphabets for the writing of a late Northumbrian dialect, inconsistent with the ethnical character of a district, in which Anglian and Danish

¹ *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, Plate v. Fig. 14, p. 71.

invaders alternately predominated, and ultimately constituted the chief colonists of the region. The Bridekirk Runes, thus interpreted, read in a rhyming couplet of the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon dialect: *Richard he me wrought: and to this beauty carefully me brought:—*

RIFIRD: *†: Y†: IPRÆY†

‡: ††: ††: Y†RD: 3†RMR: Y†: BRÆY†

RICARD HE ME IWROCTE

AND TO THIS MERTH GERNAR ME BROCTE.

Among the minor examples of art which appear to belong to the same Anglo-Saxon period, is a large bronze finger-ring, now in the Scottish collection, engraved on



FIG. 177.—Bronze Finger-Ring.

two faces, as shown in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 177), with Anglo-Saxon Runes, now partially defaced. Rings inscribed in the same Runic characters have been repeatedly found in the north of England, chiefly bearing rhyming couplets or triplets designed as charms against the plague. Hickes has engraved, in his *Thesaurus*, various gold and silver amulets of this class; but all of more modern character than the bronze ring figured here, which was found, in 1849, in the Abbey Park, St. Andrews, in the vicinity of one of the earliest centres of civilisation, subsequent to the introduction of Christianity

into Scotland. Similar examples of the use of the Anglo-Saxon futhork, both on monuments and works of art, from time to time reward research, now that English archaeologists have learned that it is to themselves, and not to Scandinavian scholars, that they must look for the elucidation of their own native Anglo-Saxon remains.

The fashion of erecting memorial crosses, which found



FIG. 178. Eccles Cross.

favour in every country of Christendom, was followed with peculiar zeal in the Northumbrian region of St. Cuthbert; and throughout the whole of Scotland ecclesiastical, memorial, town, and market crosses still abound. One highly interesting class has already been included among the Scottish sculptured stones; and another has been referred to in illustrating the memorial stones of Iona. A continuous series might indeed be selected to illustrate the progress of art, and the changes of style.

from the rudest Pictish Christian monuments, and the few venerable relics of Anglo-Saxon art, to the latest market crosses of the sixteenth century, marked by the blending of the revived classical details with those of the medieval sculptor. The highly characteristic example engraved here, stands in the vicinity of Hume Castle, in the parish of Eccles, Berwickshire. A simple wheel-cross, of unpretending rudeness, crowns the shaft; and on its front the figure of a knight is incised, with his hands joined, as in prayer, and his hound at his feet. The other side is decorated in a similar manner with his shield and sword. A local tradition associates it with a famed hunting feat in the days of Malcolm Canmore, when one of his knights pledged his broad acres, that his favourite hound should pull down a deer it had in chase before it passed the march-stone of his lands. The cross is said to mark the scene of this sylvan triumph; which bears some resemblance to another told of the St. Clairs of Roslin, in connexion with a slab somewhat similarly decorated, on the floor of Roslin Chapel. Both traditions are probably inventions of a later age; but the Eccles Cross looks primitive enough to be the memorial of some good knight of the court of Malcolm and his Saxon Queen.

CHAPTER VI.

AMUSEMENTS.

IN the earliest and rudest states of society, war and the chase become at once the business of life, and, with the needful preparations of weapons and other requisites, suffice to supply each day with its full complement of labour and pastime. Yet even in the savage state, as among the Indians of the American forests and prairies, games of chance and skill are frequently resorted to, to relieve the monotony of peace ; and gambling supplies the most ready artificial excitement to the warrior in his leisure hours. A Chinook Indian will play for days and nights together at a simple game, involving no more than the chance guess as to which hand of his rival holds a little piece of wood ; and in the excitement of the sport he will gamble away everything he possesses, even to his wife. A very slight rise in the social scale, however, creates the desire for more complicated games, in which success depends in part on the skill of the player, and involves some recognised superiority to give zest to his triumph over his rival. We accordingly find traces of the existence of games both of chance and skill from a very remote period ; and the modes adopted for this purpose often furnish no uncertain criterion of the age in which they originate. Reference has already been made to spherical and truncated stones, measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, frequently

found in tumuli. For the former the name of Bead-stones is proposed; and as they are generally perforated, their use as personal ornaments has been assumed as probable, notwithstanding their cumbrous size and unattractive appearance. But as many even of the spherical stones are flattened on one side, there is greater probability of the original purpose of the latter class, at least, having been for table-stones (Anglo-Saxon, *täfelstan*), or draughtsmen, in which case the perforation might serve to string them together, for carrying about. In Ireland, and still more frequently in Norway, draughtsmen are found alongside of the weapons and other relics buried with the warrior. They are made generally of bone, of a conical or hemispherical shape, and with a hole in the



FIG. 179.—Table-Stones.

bottom, designed, as is presumed, to admit of their use on shipboard. With these the Northmen beguiled the tedium of their long voyages; and the estimation in which they are held is implied in their deposition among the most favourite relics of the dead. We learn from Tacitus that the Germans were so passionately addicted to gambling, that they staked not only their property, but their personal liberty. The Romans were themselves scarcely less given to such excesses. Among the many interesting relics restored to light from the ruins of Pompeii, not the least valuable as illustrations of the manners of the first century in Southern Italy, are the cogged dice of the old Roman gamblers. But besides games which mingled the incentive and excitement of

chance and skill, there appears also to have been in use, from a very early period, others of the simpler class, still favourites among our rustic population, such as bowling, nine-pins, and the like ; which, under the various names of skales or kayles, floggats, closh, etc., are frequently mentioned in ancient statutes, and have been found represented on manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The implements of such pastimes are not such as were likely, in many cases, to be long preserved, though it is by no means improbable that the spherical stone balls found with other ancient relics, and even in the tumuli, may have been used for some such purpose.¹ One interesting and well-authenticated example, however, is known of the discovery of a complete set of the implements for such a game, in the parish of Balmaclellan, Kirkeudbrightshire. They are thus described by the well-known antiquary, Mr. Joseph Train : " In the summer of 1834, as the servants of Mr. Bell of Baryown were casting peats on Ironmacunnie Moor, when cutting near the bottom of the moss, they laid open with their spades what appeared to be the instruments of an ancient game, consisting of an oaken ball, eighteen inches in circumference, and seven wooden pins, each thirteen inches in length, of a conical shape, with a circular top. These ancient *Reel Pins*, as they are termed by Strutt, were all standing erect on the hard till, equidistant from each other, with the exception of two, which pointed towards the ball that lay about a yard in front, from which it may be inferred they were overthrown in the course of the game. The ball has been formed of solid oak, and, from its decayed state, must have remained undisturbed for centuries, till discovered at a depth of not less than twelve feet from the original surface. At Pompeii,

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 194.

utensils are often found, seemingly in the very position in which they were last used. This may be accounted for by the suddenness of the calamity that befell that devoted city ; but what induced or impelled the ancient gamesters, in this remote corner of the Glenkens, to leave the instruments of their amusements in what might be considered the middle of the game ? These relics, which are in my possession, can now only be prized for their curiosity, the singular position in which they were found, and the relation they bear to ancient times."¹ The moss in which this remarkable discovery was made is described as a place where peats have been cut from time immemorial. It would be vain to speculate on the origin or owners of those homely relics of obsolete pastimes ; yet to the curious fancy, indulging in the reanimation of such long-silent scenes, they seem suggestive of the sudden intrusion, it may be, of invaders, the hasty call to arms, the utter desolation of the scene, and then the slow lapse of unnumbered centuries, during which the moss accumulated above them so gently that it seems as if the old revellers were to return and play out their unfinished game.

Amusements of the latter class scarcely admit of much refinement, and may well be supposed to have exercised fully as much ingenuity among the ancient players of the Glenkens, as they now do in the bowling-green or skittle-ground. From them, indeed, modern refinement has deduced the practised art of the billiard-table. In a simpler age the improvement assumed a more practical form, and gave way to putting the stone, throwing the hammer, and the like trials of strength, which appear to have been favourite pastimes among the Scottish Highlanders from the earliest periods to which their traditions extend.

¹ *Hist. of Galloway*, vol. ii. App. p. 67 ; *New Statist. Acc. Kirkcudbrightshire*, vol. iv. p. 103.

In complete contrast to these are the amusements indicated by the bone draughtsmen or head-stones of the tumuli. They are appropriately classed by Strutt, in his *Sports and Pastimes*, under the general title of "Sedentary Games;" and he furnishes much curious information regarding medieval pastimes, of which traces may be detected in the remoter periods into which we are inquiring. The construction of regular draughtsmen and chessmen is in itself an evidence of increased taste for such amusements. The ancients employed stones, shells, or nuts as counters, and also, there is reason to think, as table-men, in games of this nature. Hence the Greek name *ψηφοί*, and the Roman *calculi* and *scrupuli*; from whence *scrupus*, a table-man, or chessman. The Scandinavian terms are of similar import; and among the ancient Northern games which have survived as popular pastimes in Iceland and Lapland, we find the very same which figure among the illuminations of medieval manuscripts, and have influenced the grotesque decorations of our early ecclesiastical architecture. "Of such games," says a writer in the Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, "we find that our Pagan ancestors were acquainted with at least three different sorts, namely, *hnéfatáfl*, fist play, *i.e.*, hand-play;¹ *hnottáfl*, nut-play; and *skáktafl*, chess. *Hnottáfl* signifies properly a game played with nuts, or pieces shaped like nuts. A *húni* *i.e.*, a bear, or bear's cub, was anciently the principal personage in it; but in Iceland, where the fox is the only beast of prey, this animal eventually superseded

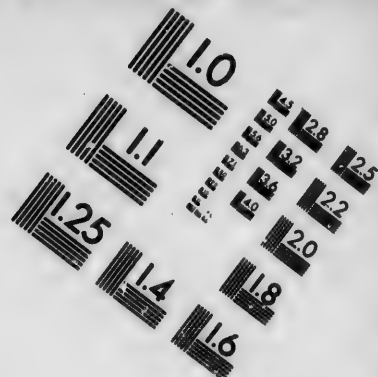
¹ This game still survives among the juvenile sports of Scotland, played with cherry-stones, or *paips*, *Ang.* pips, and called *áives*, *i.e.*, fists, from their being held in the closed hand. Some of the games with *paips* may perhaps claim a classic origin. Ovid alludes to one played with nuts, *Nov. Elegia*, ver. 72. Hence the phrase *neces relinquere*, to put away childish things: to become a man.

the bear, and the game then came to be denominated *refiskál*. The other pieces represented sheep, or lambs, pursued by Reynard. In the variety of this game, which still forms one of the favourite diversions of the Laplanders, the fox continues to play his part, with this difference, that he there pursues geese instead of lambs; as in the *Gänsepiel* of the Germans, the *Flor and geese* of the English, the *Gauzespiel* of the Dutch, the *Jeu d'oie* of the French, etc. In Denmark, a dog usually takes the place of the fox, and hares of the geese; and hence the game is there called *Hund og hare*, or hound and hare." According to the Irish chroniclers, Cahir Mor, who died A.D. 177, left, among other legacies to his son, both chessboards (*fichell*) and chessmen (*muintir*); and the Welsh laws of Howel Dha (circa A.D. 943), refer to some species of game played with pieces of different colours (*werin*) on a table-board (*tawlbwrdd*). In Bishop Percy's *Translation of Runie Poetry*, a Northern hero says,—“I am master of nine accomplishments. I play at chess; I know how to engrave Runie characters,” etc.; and in a curious Anglo-Saxon poem, translated for the first time into English by Mr. J. M. Kemble in his paper on Anglo Saxon Runes, this stanza occurs:

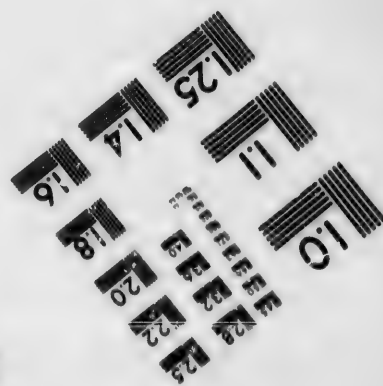
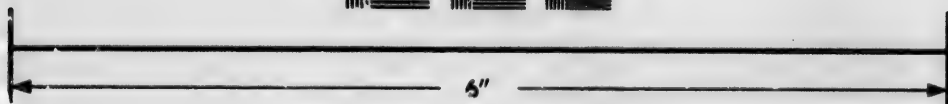
Chessman is ever
Play and laughter
To the proud, where
Warriors sit
In the beer-hall
Blithe together

It is not necessary to assume that all, or indeed any of those allusions necessarily apply to the game of chess; but only to one of the old table-games, played with pieces, many of which will more readily account for the “play and laughter” in the warrior’s hall than that skil-





A resolution test chart featuring several groups of horizontal and vertical lines of varying thicknesses. Each group is accompanied by a numerical value indicating the resolution. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10, 11.2, 12.5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.5, 25, 28, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 56, 63, 71, 80, 90, 100, 112, 125, 140, 160, 180, 200, 224, 250, 280, 315, 360, 400, 450, 500, 560, 630, 710, 800, 900, 1000, 1120, 1250, 1400, 1600, 1800, 2000, 2240, 2500, 2800, 3150, 3600, 4000, 4500, 5000, 5600, 6300, 7100, 8000, 9000, 10000.



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ful and complicated game. Allusion has already been made to an interesting discovery of upwards of thirty carved bone table-men in the Loch of Forfar; these included both plain and elaborately carved pieces, though none of them are suggestive of the game of chess. The games, as well as so many of the primitive arts and rites of the North, were in all probability brought with the earlier nomades from Asia. More than one representation of such table-games has been discovered among the pictorial decorations of Egyptian temples. Mr. Burton has figured two of these at Medinat Haboo, in his *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, in one of which (Plate XIII.) the table and pieces are partly obliterated, but in the other (Plate XI.) it is observable that the pieces are all alike, resembling the most common modern form of chess-pawns. The players also appear in both cases to be moving their pieces at the same time. The Egyptian game, we may therefore presume, bore slight resemblance to chess, and may with more probability be sought for among the early table-games of the north of Europe.

The great antiquity of the game of chess has been long since established on indisputable evidence. For its invention and earliest form the best authorities agree in looking to India, whither the simpler table-games of Egypt may have passed before the migration of the Teutonic races from Asia, and been returned from thence to Europe in their later and more complicated forms. In the ninth century, while yet the Northmen were only known along the British coasts as the dreaded marauding Vikings, Ragnar Lodbrog is reputed to have visited the Hellespont; and the intercourse between the Scandinavians and the Greeks of the Lower Empire, is an accredited feature of well-authenticated history. But there is no reason to suppose that their first knowledge of *skáktafl* dates from a period so comparatively recent.

On the celebrated Golden Horn, an undoubted relic of Pagan times, found at Gallehuus, in Sleswick, in 1639, and inscribed, not with Scandinavian but Anglo-Saxon runes, the game of tables, or chess, was graphically delineated. We need not, therefore, doubt its introduction into Britain by its earliest Anglo-Saxon colonists. At a later date, pilgrimages to Rome, and the passing and repassing of the clergy from Britain to the Continent, were matters of common occurrence; so that there can be no difficulty as to the means by which the more refined modifications of the game might be introduced to the north of Europe. Into this curious question Sir Frederick Madden has entered with great learning and ability, collecting the numerous observations of previous writers, and illustrating them from his own copious stores.¹ It will suffice to notice here the remarkable illustrations of the implements of the game discovered in Scotland, surpassing in number and value any specimens of ancient chess-men known to exist, if we except the set still preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and which there is satisfactory evidence for believing may be the very chess-men presented to Charlemagne by the Empress Irene, or her successor Nicephorus.

In the spring of 1831, the inroads effected by the sea undermined and carried away a considerable portion of a sandbank in the parish of Uig, Isle of Lewis, and uncovered a small subterranean stone building like an oven, at some depth below the surface. The exposure of this singular structure having excited the curiosity, or more probably the cupidity, of a peasant who chanced to be working in the neighbourhood, he proceeded to break into it, when he was astonished to see what he concluded to be an assemblage of elves or gnomes, upon whose

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 203.

mysteries he had unconsciously intruded. The superstitious Highlander flung down his spade, and fled home in dismay; but incited by the bolder curiosity of his wife he was at length induced to return to the spot, and bring away with him the singular little ivory figures, which had not unnaturally appeared to him the pigmy sprites of Celtic folk-lore. They consisted in all of at least ninety-two pieces, including fourteen table-men or draughtsmen, eight of which are kings, eight queens, thirteen bishops, fifteen knights, and twelve figures of footmen, to which Sir Frederick Madden gives the name of warders.¹ These have been so carefully and minutely illustrated in the valuable account in the *Archæologia*, that a slight description will now suffice. They form altogether portions of eight or more sets, none of which, however, appear to be complete. They vary considerably in size, the largest king being four and one-eighth inches in height, while the smallest measures fully an inch less; but the smaller sets are, upon the whole, more carefully and elaborately carved. The subjoined illustra-

¹ The account in the text differs as to the number of pieces, as well as in some other and more important points, from that given in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxiv. p. 212). Sir F. Madden, however, only describes those which were acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum. The late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., from whom I derived these particulars, possessed eleven pieces, subsequently acquired by the late Lord Lonsborough, consisting of two kings, three queens, three bishops, one knight, and two warders. Ten of these he selected from the whole, previous to their possessor, Mr. Roderick Ririe, offering them to the Trustees. The remaining one was afterwards obtained from a person residing in Lewis. Sir F. Madden is also mistaken in speaking of their having been long subject to the action of salt water. They were found at some distance from the shore; a sudden and very considerable inroad having been made by the sea. A minute of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, referring to the exhibition of these chessmen, 11th April 1831, describes them as "found buried fifteen feet under a bank of sand." Mr. Sharpe had in his possession the original receipt given to Mr. Ririe by the jeweller in Edinburgh, with whom they were deposited, which describes them as "fifty-eight figures, thirty-four pieces, and a buckle of ivory or bone."

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tion (Fig. 180) represents one of the smaller kings in the collection of Mr. Sharpe. In point of costume it closely resembles the example engraved in the *Archæologia*, as well as others of the set, though differing somewhat in the fashion of the beard. The king is represented as an old bearded man, with long hair falling in plaits over his shoulders, and a low trefoil crown on his head. He is seated on a chair with a high back, richly carved with intricate tracery and ornaments, corresponding for the most part to the style of decoration with which we are



FIG. 180.—Chess-Piece : King.



FIG. 181.—Chess-Piece : Queen.

familiar on the Romanesque work of the twelfth century, and holds a short sword with both hands across his knees, as if in the act of drawing it.

The queens are crowned and throned in like manner. They are represented seated in a contemplative posture, resting the head upon the hand ; and two of them hold drinking-horns in their left hands. The most striking portion of their costume, represented in the accompanying engraving from one of those in Mr. Sharpe's collection (Fig. 181), is a species of hood

depending from the back of the head, and spreading over the shoulders.¹

Of the bishops, some are seated in chairs similar to those occupied by the kings and queens, while others are in a standing posture. Sir F. Madden remarks, "All of the sitting figures and four of the standing ones wear the chasuble, dalmatic, stole, and tunic, of the form anciently prescribed, and corresponding with representations of much greater antiquity. The remainder have a cope instead of a chasuble, but omit the stole and dalmatic. The mitres are very low, and in some instances quite plain, but have the double band or *infulæ* attached behind. The hair is cut short round the head. They hold a crosier with one or with both hands; and in the former instances, the other hand holds a book, or is raised in the attitude of benediction."

The knights afford perhaps the most characteristic examples of the costume of the period. They are mounted on horseback, armed with a heavy spear, and a long kite-shaped shield. Beneath the shield appears the sword, attached to the waist by a belt. The helmets are mostly of a conical shape, in addition to which several have nasals projecting in front, and round flaps protecting the ears and neck. The horses are caparisoned in high saddles, stirrups, and bridles, and with long saddle-cloths, fringed with ornamental borders, reaching to the ground.

The footmen or warders bear the same kite-shaped shields as the horsemen, and are armed with swords and

¹ The queen figure, of which a back view is given in the engraving in order to show the peculiar form of the head-dress, holds in the left hand a horn similar to that which one of the queens now in the British Museum bears. In cutting this figure the carver has exposed the core of the tooth, and the side of the chair here seen is formed of another piece of ivory attached to it with pins of the same material. This is so neatly done that Mr. Sharpe's attention was called to it for the first time when I was drawing the piece.

head-pieces of different forms. The costume otherwise worn by them has obviously been made subservient to the convenience of the carver, as in the long saddle-cloths of the horsemen, and consists, for the most part, of an ample flowing robe, reaching to the ground and concealing the feet. Numerous variations occur in the details of those remarkable carvings, and the utmost variety of design characterizes the ornamentation of the chairs on which the kings, queens, and bishops are seated. Their dresses also vary in ornamental detail, and each of the shields, both of the knights and warders, is decorated with some peculiar device or interlaced pattern, some of which approach very nearly to the heraldic blazonry of a later period, and no doubt indicate the first accidental rudiments of medieval cognizances.

The various details of costume and ornament indicated in this brief description, furnish the chief evidence by which we may hope to assign the period and place of manufacture of those interesting works of early art. This question has already been discussed with much learning by Sir Frederick Madden, who remarks: "I shall now proceed to develop the result of my inquiries in respect to the place where and the period when these chessmen were in all probability manufactured. I shall draw my inferences from three separate subjects of consideration; the material of which they are made, the costume in which they appear, and the historical passages to be found in the ancient writings of Scandinavia; and from each I shall endeavour to prove that these pieces were executed about the middle of the twelfth century, by the same extraordinary race of people who, at an earlier period of time, under the general name of *Northmen*, overran the greater part of Europe." Against the conclusions carefully arrived at by following out this proposed course of reasoning, with the exception of the

period to which they are assigned, I venture, in all deference, to enter a demurrer. It has been so long the fashion to assign every indication of early art and civilisation found in Scotland to these Scandinavian invaders—though, as I trust has already been shown, in many cases without evidence and upon false premises,—that it becomes the Scottish archæologist to receive such conclusions with caution, even when advanced by high authorities and supported by evidence. The farther we pursue this investigation into the history of primitive native art, we find the less reason to assign to it a foreign origin, or to adopt the improbable theory that the rude Scandinavian rovers brought with them from the Pagan North new elements of civilisation and refinement to replace the Christian arts which they eradicated at the point of the sword. Singer justly remarks on the characteristic difference between the Greek and Scandinavian traditions of the mythic artist, Dædalus or Weland, that the Greeks ascribed to theirs: “plastic works, and above all images of the gods, while the Scandinavians attributed to their workmen principally weapons of a superior temper. It is, that the Greeks were a people alive to the beauty of mythologic representations. The Scandinavians, on the contrary, valued nothing but good swords, with which they conquered that which the rude climate of the North denied them.”¹ Doubtless, by the middle of the twelfth century a very great change had taken place, but then we trace it not in the invention of a northern Christian art, but in the tardy adoption of what was already common to the ecclesiology and arts of Christendom.

As to the material of the Lewis chessmen, the mere fact of their being made of the tusks of the *Rostungr* or Walrus—the “huel-bone” of Chaucer,—can no more

¹ Singer's *Wayland Smith*, p. lxxiii.

prove their Scandinavian origin, than that of the still older set of Charlemagne being of ivory¹ (presuming this to mean the elephant's tusk), affords any evidence of Indian manufacture. By the middle of the twelfth century, the Northmen had traded as well as warred with Scotland for nearly three centuries, and were at that late period, as Mr. Worsaae remarks, "the central point for an extensive commerce between the east and the northern parts of Europe."² The author of the *Speculum Regale*—composed, as Einesen concludes, between the years 1154–1164, but certainly before the close of the century—takes particular notice of the Rostung, and mentions also the circumstance of its teeth and hide being used as articles of commerce. Such indeed almost of necessity follows from the evidence of the frequent voyages of the Scandinavians in pursuit of these animals, at a time when they had abandoned the old predatory habits of the Vikings for a regular government and peaceful intercourse with other nations. The nature of their settlements on the Scottish islands and mainland, and their alliances and intermarriage with the aboriginal race, may also suffice, if further proof be needed, to show that the walrus ivory could be no great rarity in Scotland, when it formed a special article of commerce with the Northmen. We accordingly find distinct evidence of its native use: "Ivory dirk-hilts, elegantly turned or wrought by the hand, were manufactured in various parts of the Highlands and isles. Of these specimens still remain at Fingask and Glengary,"³ and a curious large sword, evidently of early date, preserved at Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, and engraved

¹ "L'Empereur et Roy de France, Sainet Charlemagne, a donné, au Thresor de Sainet Denys un jeu d'eschets, avec le tablier, le tout d'ivoire."—*Hist. Abbey of St. Denis*, 1625.

² *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 148.

³ *Stuart's Costume of the Clans*, Introd. p. xxxiv.

on a subsequent page, has the hilt made of the narwhal's tusk. The argument of Scandinavian origin from the material is therefore of no value ; and the varied devices on the chairs and other highly decorated portions of the Lewis chessmen are equally little indicative of Northern art. They are the same details as are familiar to us on the Romanesque work of the twelfth century, never yet traced to a Northern source. In St. Magnus Cathedral we have a most valuable specimen of Romanesque style, executed in obedience to the piety of a Scandinavian jarl of the Scottish Isles ; but so far from finding in it any trace of a style peculiar to the Northmen, its oldest portions are characterized by the usual features of the fully developed style, manifestly derived from Southern models, and betraying in those the later date of its foundation than the examples of the same class which still remain at Durham and Dunfermline. No Scandinavian ecclesiologist, I believe, doubts the foreign origin of the earlier styles of medieval ecclesiastical architecture, of which examples still remain in Norway and Sweden ; and the evidence already adduced tends to suggest the conclusion that whatever military and naval skill the natives of Scotland might acquire from their intercourse with the Northmen, they were much more likely to impart than to receive a superior knowledge in the arts of the sculptor and the carver. Christianity was introduced into Scotland and Ireland centuries before its acceptance by the Scandinavians, yet the primitive Christian monuments of Denmark or Norway will, as works of art, bear no comparison with those which preceded them in Scotland.

To the costume of the twelfth century we must therefore look for the only safe guide to the origin of the Lewis chessmen. Those of the kings and queens are of little value for this purpose, and those of the bishops,

though minutest of all, of none. It is to the military costume of which the knights and footmen afford such curious examples that we must have recourse for some solution of the question. But these also are mostly of Southern and not of Scandinavian origin. Both the shield and the pointed helmet are what would usually be styled Norman. We find the kite-shaped shield represented in the Bayeux tapestry; a curious example of it is engraved on a candlestick of the twelfth century, now in the collection at Goodrich Court;¹ and a still more conclusive instance is the remarkable group of warriors, each with nasal, spear, and kite-shaped shield, sculptured on the lintel of the doorway of Fordington Church, Dorchester, *circa* 1160.² Sir S. R. Meyrick conjectures that the Normans derived this shield from Sicily. There is, at any rate, good evidence for believing that while it was in use in Britain early in the twelfth century, the Northmen retained their round shield till a later period. Judging from Mr. Worsaae's valuable treatise, as well as from the *Guide to Northern Antiquities*, the round shield appears to be alone known among the defensive arms of the latest Pagan period, which closes little more than a century prior to the probable date of the Lewis chessmen. But Sir F. Madden has referred to an authority the bearing of which on this point has escaped him, although it seems conclusive. The passage is that in Giraldus (quoted from a ms. temp. John), in which he describes the descent of the Norwegians under Hasculph or Asgal, to attack the city of Dublin, then defended by Miles de Cogan, about the year 1172, as follows: "A navibus igitur certatim erumpentibus, duce Johanne . . . viri bellicosi Danico more undique ferro vestiti, alii loriceis longis, alii laminis ferreis

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. Plate XXVIII. p. 317.

² *Glossary of Architecture*, fifth edit. vol. ii. Plate LXXXIII.

arte consutis, *clipeis quoque rotundis et rubris*, circulariter ferro munitis, homines tam animis ferrei quam armis, ordinatis turmis, ad portam orientalem muros invadunt." Such shields, formed of wood bound with iron, and with an iron umbo in the centre, are still preserved in Norway, and correspond not only to the requisitions of the old Gulathings-law, cap. 309, circa 1180, but even to a later one—circa 1270. Into the minuter details of *wambeys*, *gambeson*, *panzar*, etc., referred to in the *Archæologia*, it is needless to enter,



FIG. 182.—Lewis Chessman.

because most of them are wanting on the chessmen, or can at best only be guessed at. Were the swords and shields removed from the warders, along with their beards, so little would any one dream of detecting such traces of medieval armour in their costume, that even their sex might be in doubt, and some of their conical helmets and gambesons might serve equally well for the scapulars and tunics of gentle nuns.¹ Of the horse-men also little can be made of anything but the helmet

¹ Vide, in addition to the example shown here (Fig. 182), *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. Plate XLVIII. Figs. 3, 4.

and shield; and of the former scarcely two are alike on knights or warders, the difference in some of them amounting to a total dissimilarity in form and fashion. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the knight-pieces is the small size of the horses, so characteristic of the old Scottish breed. But it is even matter of doubt if the Norse warriors of the twelfth century fought on horseback. If they did so at that period, it was a novelty borrowed, like their new faith and arts, from the nations of the south. A figure of a mounted warrior, apparently bearing a close resemblance to the chess knights, with a peaked helmet, carrying a spear, and with a long saddle-cloth pendant from his horse, is sculptured in relief, amid knot-work and floriated ornaments, on an early monumental slab in the Relig Oran at Iona. A claymore of antique form occupies the centre of the slab, but the shield is concealed by the position of the figure. It is not, however, to the sculptured monuments either of Scotland or of Norway and Denmark that we must look for identifying the costume of these figures with any contemporary examples. Fortunately the same class of evidence has been preserved, on perhaps still more trustworthy authority, not in marble but in wax, on the royal and baronial seals attached to early charters. From these we learn that prior to the date of the Norwegians assailing Miles de Cogan, armed with their "shields, round and red," both the peaked helmet and nasal, and the kite-shaped shield, were the usual defensive armour of the Scottish baron. On the seal, for example, appended to the charter of Robert de Lundres, c. A.D. 1165, conveying a carucate of land in Roxburghshire to the Abbey of Melros, the knight is represented on horseback in full armour, with a flattened helmet with nasal and a kite-shaped shield.¹ So also on the

¹ *Liber Sancto de Melros*, p. 76, No. 88.

seals of Uchtred, son of Osulf; William son of John; Phiilp de Valoniis, chamberlain of Scotland, c. A.D. 1176; and on that of Richard de Morville, constable of Scotland, appended to a charter A.D. 1176: all among the charters of the Abbey of Melrose, about the middle of the twelfth century, we find the kite-shaped shield, the nasal and the peaked helmet; while on the very beautiful seal of Patrick de Dunbar, c. A.D. 1200, the nasal appears attached to a round chapel-de-fer, very similar to those worn by some of the Lewis warders.¹ Such examples might be greatly multiplied, but those are sufficient to show the entire correspondence of the chessmen found in Lewis, both with the contemporary native costume, and with other productions of Scottish art of the twelfth century; while it still remains to be shown that such resemblance is traceable in any single undoubted Scandinavian work of the same period. The intimate intercourse between the Scandinavian and native races of the north of Scotland, and their offensive and defensive alliances already referred to, would indeed render it probable that in the twelfth century no great difference existed in their weapons or defensive armour. Yet we find no traces in the arms or armour of the Scottish Highlanders, with whom alone such close alliances were formed, of anything resembling those in question. In the Lothians, or Saxonia, as it is sometimes styled even in the Pictish Chronicle, it was entirely different. Before the close of the eleventh century, a mingled Saxon and Norman population occupied the old kingdom of Northumbria, a Saxon queen shared the Scottish throne, and exercised a most important influence in changing the manners of the people, and in modifying and reforming their ecclesiastical system. To this period,

¹ *vide* Laing's *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*. Nos. 283, 595, 825, 828, 843. Edin. 1850.

therefore, and from this source it is that we must look for the introduction of the military costume of the South, as well as of the minutiae of clerical attire, which may be presumed to have previously been as little in conformity with the Roman model as other parts of the system.

Founding on the supposed discovery of the Lewis chessmen within tide-mark, and exposed to the sea on the shores of Lewis, it has been suggested that they "formed part of the stock of an Icelandic *kaup-mann* or merchant, who carried these articles to the Hebrides or Ireland for the sake of traffic; and the ship in which they were conveyed being wrecked, these figures were swept by the waves on shore, and buried beneath the sand-bank."¹ This supposition, however, was formed under imperfect information of the circumstances attending the discovery, as they were found in a stone building, which, from the general description furnished of it, there appears reason to assume, must have been a Scottish Weem, and in the vicinity of a considerable ruin. There is greater probability in the earlier conjecture, that the carving of the ancient chessmen may have helped to relieve the monotony of cloistral seclusion. The minuteness of detail in the ecclesiastical costume is much more explicable on such a supposition than by a theory which would ascribe either to an Icelandic *kaup-mann*, or Norse carver of the twelfth century, such a knowledge of Episcopal chasuble, dalmatic, stole, cope, and tunic, as is traceable in the bishops of the Lewis chessmen.

Danish antiquaries have naturally been little inclined to dispute the idea of a Scandinavian origin assigned on such high authority to the beautiful specimens of carved chessmen found in Scotland. A keen spirit of nation-

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 290.

ality has been enlisted with the happiest effects in the cause of Northern Archæology ; and however honestly bent on the discovery of truth, it was scarcely to be looked for that the Danish archæologist should search too curiously into the evidence by which such valuable relics were handed over to him. They are, accordingly, referred to in the Report of the Northern Antiquaries for 1836, under the title of Scandinavian Chessmen, and at length figure in the *Guide to Northern Archæology*, among articles from the Christian Period, without its even being hinted that they were discovered, not in Denmark but in Scotland. The subject is treated more at large in the interesting paper on "Some Ancient Scandinavian Chessmen," included in the Report of the Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members, in which several specimens found in Scandinavia are described and engraved. One of these, a female figure on horseback, supposed to be a queen-piece (also engraved in the *Guide to Northern Archæology*, p. 75), is in the private collection of Professor Sjöborg. On it the writer remarks,—"The serpentine ornament upon it resembles, it will be observed, those on several of the chessmen found at Lewis. The mantle, too, or veil, hanging down the shoulders of the figure, is another point of similitude between them." A comparison of the engraving in Lord Ellesmere's translation of the *Guide to Northern Archæology*, with the Lewis chessmen in the British Museum, will suffice to show how easily men are persuaded of what they wish to believe. The character both of horse and rider essentially differ ; the costumes in no way resemble each other more than all female dresses necessarily do ; while the horses differ as much as is well possible. In the Lewis knights their horses' manes are cut short and stand up, while the hair hangs down over their foreheads. In the Scandinavian

example the mane is long, and the forehead uncovered; and what is no less worthy of note, the horse, both in this and the following examples, differs from the former in being of full size, as tested by the comparative proportions of the rider. The horse furniture is equally dissimilar: but a still greater and more important disagreement is in the style of art. A very great resemblance may be traced between the square forms and most characteristic details of the Lewis horses' heads,



FIG. 181. - Lewis Chessman

and the corresponding sculptures in contemporary architectural details, as in those of Dalmeny Church, Linlithgowshire, where a series of similar heads occur in the corbel-table of the apse. Such a comparison affords the best test of style, the peculiarities of which are more easily illustrated than described. No such resemblance could possibly be suggested by Professor Sjöborg's chess-piece; and the similarity which the Danish antiquaries discover in its serpentine ornament to those of the Lewis carvings, is little less unsatisfactory. The difference in style is equally obvious in two groups in the Christiansborg Collection at Copenhagen (tab. vi. figs. 1, 2), carved

in walrus ivory, and believed to be the king and queen-pieces of a set of chessmen. They represent, the one a king and the other a queen, on horseback, surrounded each by four attendants. It is sufficient to say of them that they bear equally little resemblance to the Lewis figures in arms, armour, costume, or ornamental details. In Scotland it is otherwise. Examples have been found there admitting of comparison with the Lewis chessmen. Pennant engraves one discovered in the ruins of Dunstaffnage Castle, Argyleshire, the ancient stronghold of the Dalriadic kings. It represents a king seated in a chair of square form, holding a book in the left hand. The costume differs from the kings of the Lewis sets, and obviously belongs to a somewhat later period; but the figures correspond in general arrangement, and there can be no doubt that the latter is the king-piece of a similar set of chessmen. It is still preserved at Dunstaffnage, where it was examined by Pennant in 1772.¹

Another of the chesspieces referred to is in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, and furnishes a most beautiful example of the skill of the early carvers. It is also wrought from the walrus ivory, and may be presumed to have formed a warder or rook-piece of the set. It represents two mailed knights, armed with sword and shield, and may be ascribed to the early part of the thirteenth century. The shields are shorter than in the Lewis figures, and the devices afford an interesting means of comparison. Several of the ornamental patterns wrought on the shields of the former bear such close resemblance to heraldic distinctions that they admit of intelligible description according to rules of

¹ It was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the late Captain Campbell of Inistore, in 1833, but I have been unsuccessful in several attempts since to ascertain in whose custody it now is, in order to obtain access to it for the purpose of making a drawing from the original.

blazonry, yet they are all evidently mere arbitrary ornaments and not bearings; whereas on one of the shields of the latter knight we have a curious and very early example of heraldic *dimidiation*,—a *fleur-de-lys* dimidiated on a diapered field,—a figure little likely to be chosen for mere ornament. The history of this interesting relic is unknown. It was presented to the Society by Lord Macdonald in 1782, as *the handle of a Highland dirk*. From his extensive possessions in the Isle of Skye, it is not improbable that it may have been found



FIG. 184. — Chesspiece, Scottish Antiquarian Museum.

there, where the frequent discovery of relics of different periods attests the ancient presence of a population skilled in the useful and ornamental arts. It measures three and five-eighths inches in height, and is fully equal, in point of workmanship, to any of the Lewis figures, though certainly betraying no characteristics which should suggest any doubt of its native workmanship.

The following woodcut exhibits another chesspiece, apparently of a still later date, preserved in the collec-

tion formed by Sir John Clerk at Penicuik House. Attached to it is a parchment label, in the handwriting of the old Scottish antiquary, which thus describes it : "An ancient piece of sculpture on the tooth of a whale. It was found by Jo. Adair, geographer, in the north of Scotland, anno 1682. All the figures are remarkable." John Adair, geographer for Scotland, was appointed by the Lords of the Scottish Privy-Council, in 1682, to make a survey of the whole kingdom, and maps of the



FIG. 185.—Queen-Piece, Penicuik House.

different shires. This he effected, and published the first part of his work ; but, unfortunately, obstacles, arising apparently from the tardy advances of the necessary funds, prevented the second part—including his voyage round the Western Isles and an account of the Roman wall,—from ever appearing, and his papers, it is to be feared, no longer exist.¹ It was, no doubt, while he was

¹ *Vide* Papers relative to the Geographical Description, etc., of Scotland, by John Adair, F.R.S., 1686-1723. *Bohnatque Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 347.

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engaged on this survey, that the interesting relic was discovered which is engraved here. It has evidently been designed as a queen piece, though consisting in all of seven figures. The queen is represented crowned, and seated on her throne, with a lap-dog on her knee, and apparently a book in her right hand. At her left side is a knight in full armour, with drawn sword, and from whose costume we can have little hesitation in assigning the work to the fourteenth century. On the right hand of the throne stands a minstrel playing on the crowde, an ancient musical instrument somewhat resembling the violin. Behind are four female figures, holding each other by the hand, and the one next to the minstrel bearing a palm-branch. This curious chesspiece is of great value, as adding another link to the chain of chronological evidence by which we trace the continuous native production of those costly relics of ancient pastime in our own country.

Mr. Albert Way has described two other very curious chessmen, both knight-pieces. One of these, which is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, is also believed to be made of the walrus tooth, and is interesting as an example of military costume, apparently belonging to the early part of the reign of Henry III. The other figure is carved in ivory, and furnishes a very minute and characteristic illustration of the military costume and horse-armour in use during the reign of Edward III.¹ But a much more remarkable relic of the same class, believed to be a queen-piece, is figured and described in the *Archæological Journal*.² It was found, about twenty years since, in the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, and is said to bear some resemblance to another of inferior workmanship, discovered along with several chesspieces at Woodperry, Oxfordshire. One of

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. iii. pp. 243, 244.

² *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 170.

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these, a bishop, is also engraved in the *Archæological Journal*.¹ The form of the Kirkstall piece is further illustrated by the illuminations of a German MS. of the fourteenth century,² where Otho, Marquis of Brandenburg, who died in 1298, is represented playing at chess with a lady, and with such a piece before him on the board. The details of this queen-piece are very peculiar. The four-leaved flower and triangular foliation would suggest a date not earlier than the close of the thirteenth century; nor is there anything irreconcilable with this in the very singular figures which they accompany. A parallel may be found to the most remarkable of them in the sculptural details which the exuberant fancy of that period lavished on cathedrals and shrines, without, we may suspect, always aiming at such recondite meanings as modern symbolists insist on deducing from them.

One other Scottish example of a chesspiece may be mentioned. It is a small mutilated ivory figure, apparently of a king, in classic costume, and with a drawn sword in his hand, found a few years since among the ruins of North-Berwick Abbey. But it belongs to a much more recent period than any of those previously referred to, and is inferior to them as a work of art. Were it not, indeed, for the Scandinavian origin so generally assigned to nearly all the early examples of British chessmen, their manifest classification among the productions of Christian art would have rendered it more consistent with an orderly system of chronology to treat of the majority of them along with late mediæval antiquities.

The "Collection of Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewel House," among its many curious items, fur-

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. iii. p. 121.

² *Bibl. du Roi*, No. 7266. *Ibid.* vol. vi.

nishes this interesting notice of the tables and chessmen of James IV., and possibly of older Scottish kings :—
 “Ane pair of tabillis of silvir, ourgilt with gold, indentit with jasp and cristallyne, with table men and chess men of jasp and cristallyne.”¹ The entry sufficiently shows the familiarity of the Scottish court with the use both of table and chess men at the date of its record, in the reign of James V., A.D. 1539. But evidence is hardly needed to prove the knowledge of a pastime which was then a favourite in every European court. The tables and chessmen are entered among the royal jewels; and unfortunately their costly materials, which admitted of such a classification, render it vain to hope that they may still be in existence, like the older but more homely chessmen of Charlemagne.

¹ *Collection of Inventories*, p. 49.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIMITIVE ECCLESIOLOGY.

WITH the introduction of Christianity into Britain an entirely new era of art begins, derivable here, as elsewhere, from the central heart of ancient Christendom, as in the celebrated example of the Candida Casa, built at Whithern, in Galloway, in the Roman style.

We have the authority of Bede for the fact, already referred to, that the first churches of the Britons were constructed of timber. The cathedral of St. Asaph, founded by St. Kentigern in the sixth century, was a wooden church, after the manner of the Britons, and so also we may believe was the first cathedral of Glasgow, the work of the same founder. The first cathedral of the Isles seems not even to have aspired to the dignity of a wooden church, but to have been only a wattled enclosure, not unsuited to the simplicity of the primitive apostle of the Picts. Similar erections were probably employed at a much later period, for the temporary accommodation of the first phalanx of the newly founded monastery. A very curious seal, attached to one of the older charters of Holyrood Abbey, represents a structure so entirely differing from all the usual devices of the earliest ecclesiastical seals, that I am strongly inclined to look upon it as an attempt to represent the original wooden church, reared by the brethren of the Holyrood Abbey, on their first clearance in the forest of Drumseleh. It manifestly

represents a timber structure. The round tower is also curiously consistent with the older Scottish style, which the Romanesque was then remodelling or superseding, but bears no analogy to that of the Abbey of St. David. The contemporary seal of St. Andrews, which has for its device the venerable metropolitan church of St. Rule, proves that such portraiture was actually attempted and successfully practised at the period.¹ Viewed in this light the old Holyrood seal is one of the most interesting ecclesiological relics we possess, figuring, it may be, the



FIG. 181. Holyrood Seal.

primitive structure first reared on the site which is now associated with so many of the most momentous occurrences both in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Scotland. The earliest charter to which it has yet been found attached is a notification by Alwyn, Abbot of Holyrood, A.D. 1141; but the style of workmanship and paleography belong to an earlier period, when the *mos Scotorum* was still in use; and perhaps point to the existence of a *familia*, or Christian community established in the glades of Drumselch Forest, long before

¹ Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*, Nos. 1103, 1105, 1106.

the royal foundation of the Holyrood. Amid such primitive structures, the Candida Casa of St. Ninian must have stood forth as a majestic example of Italian art, and have furnished a model which succeeding builders would strive to imitate. Yet as each country of Christian Europe has its own peculiar variations from the theoretical standard, or its provincialisms, as they may be fitly enough called : so Scotland and Ireland, occupying originally a more isolated position than the other kingdoms of Christendom, modified these to a remarkable extent, and produced a style differing so greatly from the Italian model as to confound the speculations of modern ecclesiologists. The masterly essay of Dr. Petrie on "The Round Towers of Ireland," has at length freed this inquiry from the cumbrous theories of older antiquaries, and given consistency to the archæological records of native art.

While England has her Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical remains, exhibiting more or less of the transition by which the debased Roman passed into the pure Romanesque or Norman style, Scotland, along with Ireland, possesses examples of an early native style belonging to the same period, anterior to the Norman invasion, and distinguished by more marked and clearly defined characteristics. The peculiarities of the early masonry have generally been selected by judicious ecclesiologists as the most unerring of all guides to genuine Saxon remains, including such constructive features as the varieties of *long and short work*, whether introduced plainly in the angles of the buildings, or in the form of pilaster-strips, panels, arcades, and other decorations on the surface of the walls : as in the celebrated Earl's Barton Tower, Northamptonshire, and in the Stanton Lacy Church, Shropshire. The latter are only modifications of the simpler long and short work, and are obviously introduced for the same purpose, namely : to supply the want

of a sufficiency of good building materials, and to bind together the unsubstantial rubble-work between, much in the same way as beams and brick-work are united in a timber-framed house. This difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of stone accounts for the introduction of herring-bone work, consisting of courses of bricks or tiles of Roman shape, and not unfrequently the spoils of older Roman buildings, disposed in alternate chevron rows. Such evidence is not of course in itself sufficient to fix a building as undoubtedly belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period, but as it generally occurs along with features more or less markedly distinct from the earliest Romanesque buildings to which an authentic date is assigned, it is a mere disputing about terms to question the existence of many well-known examples in England of a style of ecclesiastical building popularly known as Saxon architecture. In addition to those constructive features, there are not wanting peculiarities of detail: such as the belfry windows, divided with a rude baluster, or a slender cylindrical shaft carrying a long impost without any capital, and small apertures both in doors and windows, formed by two or more stones laid so as to form a straight slope, and producing a class of pointed openings coeval with the earliest circular arch in our ecclesiastical architecture. Sculptured decoration is rare, and generally extremely rude. The imposts of arches most frequently present imperfect imitations of Roman mouldings, where they are not simple square blocks, though in some instances a modification of the long and short work, consisting of rag-stones regularly disposed in imitation of carved mouldings, serves as an economical substitute for more laboured decorations.

Most of those characteristics of Anglo-Saxon architecture are, in the true sense of the word, provincialisms, not indeed necessarily confined to England, but pertain-

ing to the earliest buildings of districts where good stone is scarce, and not easily procured. They form interesting examples of the legitimate origin of architectural details from the necessities of the locality in which they are found. On this very account, however, they are such as we should not expect to find, either in Scotland or Ireland, where substantial building materials abound. Examples, indeed, of analogous workmanship are not wanting in either country, and some of those of Scotland will be referred to. The celebrated ruin of St. Anthony's Chapel, near Edinburgh, though certainly not earlier than the fourteenth, and more probably belonging to the fifteenth century, affords a curious instance of the adaptation of the rude materials of its immediate site, where others of the best quality were of easy access. This, however, is a solitary example, and no indication of a prevalent custom. Any evidence of such an exotic style as that usually called Saxon in the south of England transplanted to such localities, like the Scoto-Roman masonry already described, would clearly point to a foreign origin, and to builders unfamiliar with the facilities of a stone country.

But it is to Celtic Ireland, with the abundant traces of her primitive Christian arts and architecture, and not to Anglo-Saxon England, that we must turn for the illustrative analogies of native Christian art. A common origin, and the dialects of a common language, united the Celtic population of Ireland and Scotland; and to whomsoever the introduction of Christianity among the Picts or Caledonians be due, the evidence of its wide diffusion by the disciples of St. Columba is indelibly preserved in the association of their names with a thousand local memories and traditions. It was remarked, in the first edition of this work, that to the more accessible examples of primitive ecclesiastical architecture then referred to, there

was little doubt that further research, particularly in the Hebrides and on the neighbouring coast, might still supply interesting additions. This work had then been delayed, in the hope of carrying out an exploratory tour planned with that object in view; but the purpose—then designed for execution at some more convenient season,—now lies altogether beyond the hopes of one whose lot fortune has cast among scenes remote from all the memorials of that ancient past which it was once his favourite pastime to explore. Since then, however, Mr. Muir has taken up the subject in his *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland*; and has there described and illustrated some interesting remains of primitive Christian art, closely resembling those of Ireland with which Dr. Petrie had already rendered us familiar. Among these are the *Tigh Beannaichte*, or Blessed House, on Gallon Head, Lewis, a roofless, but otherwise perfect little oratory, measuring internally only 18 by 10 feet; the Chapel of St. Flann, another primitive cell of rude polygonal masonry, on Eilean Mor; the *Teampull Rona*, or Chapel of St. Ronan, on Eilean Rona; and the *Teampull Sàla Sgeir*, on the little island of the latter name. All of these have been illustrated as characteristic examples of the most primitive ecclesiastical architecture of the Western Isles.¹ Dr. Reeves, the learned editor of Adamnan, has also partially explored the same interesting region; and describes a little chapel in the Island of Skye, which, to his experienced eye, exhibits such obvious characteristics of the earliest type of native Christian architecture, that he is disposed to assign both it and a cyclopean cashel beside it, if not to St. Columba himself, to one of his disciples. Other buildings of the same class, on Eilean Naomh, a small uninhabited island off the Argyleshire

¹ *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture*, etc., pp. 174, 180, 193, 203.

coast, was recognised by him as presenting the familiar features of Irish ecclesiastical architecture of the seventh or eighth century. On a slope near the shore are also remains of bee-hive shielings constructed of slate, and equally primitive in their character;¹ and Mr. Cosmo Innes, who accompanied Dr. Reeves in his visit to the island, speaks of the group of buildings as "perhaps the oldest vestiges of the sort now standing in Scotland."² The bee-hive houses which attracted the attention of the tourists were long ago noted by Martin among the anti-



FIG. 187.—Girth House of Orphir.

quities of the Western Isles. After describing the Hebridean Eird Houses or Weems, Martin adds: "There are several little stone houses built above ground, capable only of holding one person, and round in form. One of them is to be seen in Portry, another at Linero, and at Culnock. They are called *Tey-nin-druinich*, i.e., Druid's House."³ But ancient as those structures undoubtedly are, the recent explorations of Captain Thomas, R.N.,

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 127.

² *Orig. Paroch.* vol. ii. p. 277.

³ Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 154.

have established the fact that similar domed cells, rude as the kraals of the African Hottentot, have been in use as dwellings by the islanders of Uig, in Lewis, almost to our own day. This primitive form appears to have served as a model for some of the earliest Christian oratories, of which the ruined Girth House in the parish of Orphir, in Orkney, is an interesting example. It stands in the churchyard, and is described, in the old account of the parish, as "a rotundo 18 feet in diameter, and 20 feet high, open at top; and on the east side is a vaulted concavity, where probably the altar stood, with a slit in the wall to admit the light. Two-thirds of it have been taken down to repair the parish church."¹ The remaining fragment, including the semicircular apse, still remains in the condition presented here (Fig. 187), and shows, in the character of its masonry, as well as by its peculiar form and simple details, its early date. Mr. George Petrie, in a communication to the Archæological Institute, records the fact, that on the building of the modern church, which partly occupies the site of the little oratory, the remains of the wall and foundations were sufficiently perfect to prove its circular form.² The more celebrated Arthur's Oon has already been referred to as a structure seemingly formed on the same bee-hive model, and corresponding, in its more regular hewn masonry, to the later Scottish architecture, of which examples still remain at Breechin and Abernethy. But, while the primitive oratories of the first centuries of Scottish Christianity were to be looked for, seemingly with the greatest probability, among the Hebrides, which abound in such sites as were most in favour with the ascetic missionaries of the new faith: it is not among such unfrequented scenes, but within sight of the Scottish capital, in the

¹ Sinclair's *Statist. Acc.* vol. xix. p. 417.

² *Archæol. Jour.* vol. xviii. p. 227.

thronging estuary of the Forth, that one of the oldest memorials of Scottish architecture has been discovered. Even on Arthur Seat, exposed to the restless populace of the neighbouring city, some remains of the simple cell of the hermit of St. Anthony are visible; and from its site the eye may note the little island of Inchcolm, on which, amid ecclesiastical ruins of a later date, a rudely-arched little structure, adjoining the monastery over which the historian, Abbot Bowar, presided, has long been shown as the cell of the good hermit of St. Columba,



FIG. 188.—Oratory on Inchcolm.

where he entertained King Alexander I. for three days, when driven on the island by a tempest.

To this little-headed structure Professor J. Y. Simpson has recently directed his attention with characteristic zeal and sagacity, and has demonstrated its correspondence to some of the most ancient oratories and miniature churches associated with the primitive Irish evangelists.¹ The building is an irregular quadrangle, measuring exter-

¹ "On an old Stone-roofed Cell or Oratory in the Island of Inchcolm," *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 489.

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nally only twenty-one and a half feet in greatest length. Internally it is little more than six feet in breadth at the east end, where probably the stone altar-table stood under its small window; while it diminishes to four feet nine inches at the west end. The foregoing view of this singularly interesting structure (Fig. 188) will best illustrate the character of its simple masonry, with its stone roof, and miniature east window, only ten inches wide externally, but splayed internally so as to admit the greatest diffusion of light into the narrow cell. Confirmed in his impressions by repeated inspection of the little oratory



FIG. 180. - Vaulted Ceiling, Incheolm.

of Incheolm, and the comparison of it with some of the oldest primitive churches and oratories of Ireland: Professor Simpson at length submitted a series of drawings of it to Dr. Petrie of Dublin, who, without any knowledge of its site or history, at once pronounced the building to be a "Columbian cell." The vaulted ceiling is constructed of rude masonry, with a triangular wedge for the keystone, as shown in the exposed section of the arched vault, and over this it is roofed with squared stones laid in regular courses, in so substantial a manner, that to this is doubtless due the preservation of the whole structure. Though attracting little notice, it has been

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long regarded, on the uncertain authority of tradition, as the shelter where, as Boece relates, Alexander I. "was constraint be violent tempest to remane thre dayes, sustenand his life with skars fude, be ane heremit that dwelt in the said inche; in quhilk he had ane little chapell, dedicat in the honour of Sanct Colme." But we may now recognise, in this homely shelter of royalty, an oratory of a greatly older date, erected in all probability by one of the earliest disciples of Columba, who made his way from Iona to the eastern territories of the Picts. He must be peculiarly devoid of every sentiment of veneration, who could look unmoved on this humble oratory, the shelter of royalty while still the Celtic line of kings occupied Malcolm Canmore's throne, and perhaps the oldest of all the ecclesiastical buildings connected with the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. The adjacent church, with its beautiful octagonal chapter-house, and other remains of the royal foundation, includes additions of various ages, but none of them older than the closing years of the twelfth century. Some of these will come under review in the following chapter, but an interesting memorial of the monastic buildings has been preserved on the chapter seal. Like those of the metropolitan see which perpetuate the primitive cathedral of St. Rule, the Incheolm seal is engraved apparently with a view of the ancient abbey church; and on the counter seal is a lymphad, or one-masted galley, the means of intercourse between the brotherhood and the outer world. The church is represented as consisting of nave and choir, with a central tower surmounted by a spire, and with plain round-headed windows in the choir. The only impressions hitherto discovered are very imperfect, but little doubt can be entertained that in these we have a representation of the original structure of the twelfth century, probably little less accurate than we know those on the

ancient seals of St. Andrews to be ; and thus, while the graven brass and the masonry, which seemed to bid defiance to time, have long since perished, the wax and parchment still endure, as faithful custodiers of the record committed to their trust.

The peculiar characteristics of the later ecclesiastical revolutions of Scotland, which almost entirely eradicated all veneration for the historical memorials of the ancient Scottish Church, have largely contributed to obliterate the evidences of our primitive Christian architecture. Some few other examples of singular value, however, still exist to attest the correspondence of the earliest sacred structures with other contemporary works of art. Scotland, as well as Ireland, has her Round Towers: among the most interesting of her earlier relics of native ecclesiastical architecture. Into the endless controversy of which these have formed the subject it is happily no longer needful to enter. Dr. Petrie's admirable work has sufficed to sweep away the learned dust and cobwebs laboriously accumulated about the inquiry into their origin, and exhibits the value of patient investigation, and the logical deductions of a thoroughly informed mind, in contrast to the vague and visionary speculations of the fireside student. The Scottish antiquary is, indeed, confined in his investigations to a narrow field, when compared with that which Ireland offers ; but he is, on that very account, freed from some of the difficulties which beset the explorer into the corresponding Irish examples of the architectural taste and skill of a remote and long unknown period. It is even possible that a closer investigation of the history of the Round Towers of Scotland may throw some additional light on those of the sister isle.

The reader will probably be prepared by previous evidences of the close affinity traceable between early Irish and Scottish art to assume that these singular structures,

which find a parallel only in Ireland, are either the work of Irish Scots or the result of the intimate intercourse with Ireland which was maintained at a well-ascertained period of our history. When we consider the resemblance between the towers of Brechin and Abernethy and some of those of Ireland, amounting in many respects to complete identity of style, it seems strange that Scottish antiquaries should have hesitated in ascribing a Christian origin to the former, after the obscure annals of the Dalriadic Scots had been cleared up. From these, as we have already seen, the Irish Scoti appear to have had no footing beyond their little territory in Argyleshire till the middle of the ninth century ; and we have unquestionable evidence that the Romanesque or Anglo-Norman style had obtained general acceptance in Scotland in the very beginning of the twelfth century. Between these two periods, therefore, the precise date of erection of both the Round Towers of Brechin and Abernethy must be sought. But this interval is further limited by the establishment of the third Norwegian kingdom by Thorfinn in 1034. It embraced nearly the whole of the north of Scotland, and was successfully maintained for thirty years, so that we are almost unavoidably compelled to assume their date as prior to this earlier period. The triumph of Thorfinn involved the extinction of the house of Kenneth MacAlpin, and the extermination of the most powerful chiefs of the Scottish race. By this we are limited to a period somewhat short of two centuries, within which it may be assumed that the Scottish Round Towers were erected ; and with this such historical evidence as we possess in some degree accords. Neither of them, however, are the primitive structures reared on those long sacred sites. The tower of Abernethy, which stands solitary and unroofed, with all the ancient ecclesiastical adjuncts of

a collegiate foundation utterly effaced, may be very briefly dismissed.

The *Pictish Chronicle* records the founding of a church at Abernethy, by Necton, king of the Piets, who reigned about the year 455. He dedicated the royal foundation to God and to St. Brigid, and endowed it with lands, *usque ad diem judicii*, the boundaries of which are minutely specified, "from the stone at Apurfeirt to the stone near Cairfuill," etc.: an interesting example of the Hoare Stones or land-marks of the fifth century. This is further confirmed by Fordun,¹ who quotes an ancient chronicle of Abernethy in corroboration of the earlier record. Of the precise character of the *ecclesia collegiata de Abernethy* of the fifth century, it is now vain to speculate, but most probably, even for some centuries later, it was only a wooden church after the manner of the Britons, and so remained until about A.D. 711, when we learn from Bede of a second Naiton or Necton, king of the Piets, who sent messengers to the venerable Ceolfrid, abbot of the historian's own monastery of Jarrow, at the mouth of the Wear, inquiring concerning sundry disputed questions, and praying him to send architects who, according to the manner of the Romans, should make a church of stone among his people. The Pictish march qualifies a promise of future obedience to the Roman and Apostolic Church thus naively: "In quod dumtaxat tam longe a Romanorum loquela et nationibus congregate hunc ediscere potuissent."² At what time the royal foundation of Abernethy was remodelled, according to the fashion indicated by its ancient tower, is not recorded in any authority that I know of, but it may not improbably be found noted by some of the Irish annalists from whom Dr. Petrie has already recovered so large an amount of well-authen-

¹ Fordun, vol. iv. p. 12.

² Bede, lib. v. c. 21.

ticated history. The interest in it has been diminished, not only by the annihilation of every vestige of the collegiate buildings, but still more by the unmistakable evidence that the tower itself has been partially rebuilt at a period when the Romanesque style common to medieval Europe was superseding the ancient native



FIG. 190.—Doorway, Abernethy Round Tower.

architecture. The extent, however, to which this rebuilding appears to have been carried, has been greatly exaggerated; one writer indeed assigning all but the twelve lowest courses of masonry to the eleventh or twelfth century.¹ These consist for the most part of a

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 303.

hard grey sandstone, while the remainder of the tower is executed in red freestone, exhibiting, both internally and externally, abundant traces of the weathering of centuries. At a height of six or seven feet from the original base of the tower is the doorway figured here, with unmistakable characteristics of a very different period from the Romanesque windows at the top of the tower. The arch-head is cut out of a single stone, with polygonal sections in its upper angles; and the converging jambs are finished externally by a projecting flat band carried round the sweep of the arch. The peculiar overlapping of the polygonal masonry, as shown in the woodcut, entirely accords with the form and details of the doorway as the original work of early Pictish or Scoto-Albanian builders. The story above the doorway is lighted by a window-loop facing the south, only ten inches in greatest width at the sill, and with converging jambs, surmounted by an angular head cut out of a single stone. Two other plain windows, of equally small dimensions, with semicircular heads, light the third and fourth stories; and with these, as I conceive, the original work comes to an end. Immediately above this the eye is struck with the abrupt contrast in form, details, and proportions, of four large Romanesque belfry windows, the undoubted work of the eleventh or twelfth century. A comparison of their architectural features and regular masonry with those of the doorway, sufficiently shows the very different periods to which they belong. The proportions of the latter are seven feet eight inches high, by two feet seven and three-quarter inches wide at the sill, and two feet four and a half inches at the spring of the arch. The height of the original window on the second floor, to the apex of its angular head, is little more than two feet; and the arched opes of the two higher stories are even less;

whereas those of the belfry floor are nearly six feet high, forming wide and lofty apertures, designed in a later and very different age from that in which the Round Towers were reared for purposes even now only partially understood.

The Round Tower of Abernethy measures seventy-two feet high from the lowest exposed part of its base ; but the soil of the churchyard has accumulated upwards of three feet above the roadway which skirts part of the tower, and it is probable that even the latter has encroached on the original level. The plain conical roof of stone, with which we cannot doubt it was surmounted by its Celtic builders, was replaced with a wooden spire, as we may presume, when the Romanesque attic was substituted for their work. But if so, its perishable materials must speedily have given way ; as the internal masonry is even more weathered than the exterior. Gordon describes it, in 1727, as "a stately hollow pillar, without a staircase ; so that when he entered within and looked upward, he could scarce forbear imagining himself at the bottom of a deep draw-well."¹ Since then the several stories have been divided by rude flooring ; a flat roof, covered with lead, excludes the action of the weather ; and the long-neglected structure is once more the belfry and also the clock-tower of the district.

The ecclesiastical foundation of Brechin, so far as we know, is fully four centuries later than that of Abernethy, and belongs to the era of the kings of the Scottish race. The ancient Pictish Chronicle concludes in the reign of Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, 971-994, and is supposed to have been written at that early period. It sums up the brief record of his reign in these words : " This is he who gave the great city of Brechin

¹ *Itiner. Septent.*, p. 164.

to the Lord." It does not perhaps necessarily follow that no earlier church existed at Brechin; but to this period we may assign, on the authority of the ancient Chronicle, the first royal foundation. The date, *circa* A.D. 990, is perfectly compatible with all its original architectural details, and in the absence of other evidence I should feel little hesitation in accepting that as the period in which the present beautiful Round Tower was built. Dr. Petrie assigns a date about thirty years later;¹ but, according to information subsequently communicated to Professor Simpson, this is a mere inference, sustained by no specific authority, while the Professor draws attention to a curious notice by Hector Boece, hitherto overlooked, which refers to the Round Tower as having escaped destruction when the invading Danes burnt down the great church and the town of Brechin about A.D. 1012.² The authority of Boece is only of value as the supposed repetition of some older chronicler; but the notice is interesting from its accordance with the record of Kenneth MacMalcolm's royal gift in the previous century. In its dimensions the Round Tower of Brechin somewhat exceeds that of Abernethy, measuring eighty-five feet to the cornice,³ above which a roof or spire of later date has been added when the cathedral church was re-erected in the thirteenth century. In every other respect it offers superior attractions, surrounded as it is with the more recent yet venerable and characteristic memorials of ancient ecclesiastical art, and adorned with sculptures of a singular and very remarkable character. The masonry of the tower, as will be seen from the drawing of the doorway, is of that kind

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, etc., 8vo, p. 410.

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 526.

³ *Itiner. Septent.* p. 165. Pennant says, height from ground to roof eighty feet, and, including the spire, one hundred and three feet. — *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 162.

which has been traced as gradually arising out of the cyclopean work common to the primitive architecture of many early nations, but marked by a more massive character than that of Abernethy. The stones are polygonal, carefully hewn, and fitted to each other with the utmost neatness and art: the courses of masonry being mostly horizontal, though with more or less irregularity, and the joints not uniformly vertical. It is the same



FIG. 101. — Doorway, Round Tower of Brechin.

style of work which characterizes the walls of the ancient cities of Etruria, and is also found in Ireland to have succeeded to the ruder primitive cyclopean masonry. But the peculiar feature of the Brechin Tower is its sculptured doorway. Its dimensions are as follows: The breadth at the spring of the arch is one foot seven and a half inches, and at the base one foot eleven inches. The height of the entrance to the centre of the arch is six

feet one and a half inch, and the entire height of the doorway from the base of the external ornament to the summit of the crucifix which surmounts the centre of the arch, is eight feet eleven and a half inches.¹

The sculptured figures cut in relief on the imposts and at the base of the doorway, are unhappily too much defaced to admit of a very distinct idea being now formed of their original appearance. Mr. Gough, who examined and made drawings of them nearly a century since, when they may be presumed to have been somewhat more perfect, thus describes this ancient doorway: "On the west front are two arches, one within the other, in relief; on the point of the outermost is a crucifix, and between both, towards the middle, are figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, the latter holding a cup with a lamb."² But it was unhappily too much the fashion with antiquaries of the last century, to see what they desired, and to make their drawings accordingly, so that little value can be attached to this precise description. One of the figures holds a pastoral staff or crosier, and the other grasps with his right hand a cross-headed staff, on which apparently rests a book held in the left hand. They were, not improbably, originally designed to represent St. Serf, St. Columba, or some other of the favourite primitive Scottish saints. The larger of the two measures one foot eleven inches in height, including the pedestal or block of stone on which it stands. The nondescript animals below no less effectually baffle any attempts at description. "If one of them," says Gough, "by his proboscis had not the appearance of an elephant, I should suppose them the supporters of the Scotch

¹ The drawing of the Breechin doorway is carefully made to scale, and the measurements have been taken for me by Mr. Andrew Kerr of H. M. Board of Works, so that they may be relied upon for accuracy.

² *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 85, PLATE V.

arms!" Pennant, undeterred by the *proboscis*,—which, indeed, even now looks more like a fish in the animal's mouth,—conceives them more probably to be the Caledonian bear and boar. The lapse of nearly a century has not added to their distinctness, and little good can be hoped for from such random guessings. But the two upper blocks supply curious and unmistakable evidence of the fact, that the original design of the old sculptor has been abruptly brought to a close. Additional figures—not improbably ministering angels,—have manifestly been intended to be introduced on either side of the crucified Redeemer; but from some cause the work of decoration has been arrested, and the unshapen blocks have been left to be fashioned by the tooth of time.

It is with extreme hesitation that I venture to hint a doubt in regard to any of the conclusions set forth by Dr. Petrie in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, regarding it, as I do, as an admirable model of critical analysis and research. Yet even its cautious and discriminating author has not entirely escaped the influence of that temptation to assign the remotest conceivable antiquity to those national monuments, which proved so effectual a stumblingblock to his predecessors; although he appears to be as little prone as other Irish Archæologists to yield to any such weakness when dealing with the rarer examples of Scoto-Albanian architecture. Notwithstanding the evidence adduced for the date assigned to the erection of the Round Tower of Kildare, it is impossible to overlook the fact, that the doorways both of that and of the tower at Tinahoe are decorated with ornaments and mouldings, which, though not without their own peculiar details, essentially correspond to those found throughout Europe on works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. If the record of erection at a parti-

—which, animal's the Cale- century wood can the two evidence sculptor l figures manifestly of the work of blocks ne. hint a orth by Ireland ling it, sis and inating of that tiquity fectual he ap- ologists th the Not- signed is im- ooth of l with outh to those h and parti-

cular date, with the absence of any notice of rebuilding, were to be accepted in proof of the date of styles, there is probably no single phase of medieval ecclesiastical architecture which might not be proved on such evidence to be coeval with the earliest. The ingenuity with which the old masons remodelled churches to bring them into correspondence with the progressive developments of pointed architecture, completely baffles the attempt to fix from single examples, such as the remarkable doorway of Timahoe, the work of a precise date. The form of arch, the chevron mouldings, decorated capitals, and sculptures on the imposts, are all such as the experienced eye would assign to an era in which the Romanesque or Anglo-Norman style was beginning to exercise an influence: though also accompanied with features suggestive of the simple ballister and other decorations of the earlier belfry-tower. The familiar details of the Romanesque style are undoubtedly of an early character, and associated, as might be expected, by others peculiar to Ireland. The pellet and bead moulding on the soffit of its architrave bears a close resemblance to the work on the external face of the Brechin doorway; and the converging jambs correspond in arrangement to those of older date. But this and other Irish examples referred to, do not differ more from any twelfth century building in England or Scotland, than does the beautiful stone-roofed Church of Cormac, on the Rock of Cashel, to which Dr. Petrie assigns, on indisputable evidence, the date of 1134. Those points of comparison have an importance here, because the few marked characteristics of the Round Towers of Scotland correspond to those in Ireland which, according to all received ecclesiological analogies, seem to indicate an earlier date than the towers of Timahoe or Kildare, or the presumed contemporary monastery of Rathairn, and can hardly be supposed to

be works of a later period. The most ancient arched doorways are described by Dr. Petrie, as those ornamented with a plain flat band, or architrave, as in that of Roscrea, to which the Abernethy doorway in some degree corresponds. I find it difficult to follow Dr. Petrie, where he assigns to those specimens of ecclesiastical architecture, marked by details corresponding with works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in England and Scotland, a date not later than the close of the eighth century, while the tower of Donaghmore, which bears



FIG. 192. Chapter Seal of Brechin.

considerable resemblance to the Scottish Round Tower at Brechin—though greatly inferior in the amount or richness of ornament,—is ascribed to the early part of the tenth century, or fully a century prior to the date he suggests for the corresponding Scottish building.

The church of Brechin belongs to a later age, and preserves in its west doorway and other details fine specimens of the first pointed architecture of a very different style of art. A beautiful work of art of the same period as the later structure is engraved above, the size of the

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original. It is the brass matrix of the chapter seal of Brechin, executed in the best style of workmanship of the thirteenth century, representing the Holy Trinity, with the legend: S · CAPITVLI · SANCTE · TRINITATIS · D' · BRECHIN. The reverse, as shown above, is decorated with a lion's head perforated for suspension; and from this springs an elaborate foliated ornament in high relief. The original is now in the Scottish Museum of Antiquities.

In addition to the well-known Scottish Round Towers of Abernethy and Brechin, the ancient tower of St. Magnus, Egilshay, in Orkney, though hitherto generally overlooked from its remote and inaccessible position, is little less interesting and worthy of note. The little church of St. Magnus, on the island of Egilshay, still remains in tolerably perfect condition, though roofless, consisting of a chancel, nave, and round tower at its west end, which appears, when perfect, to have been between fifty and sixty feet high. It was roofed with an irregular dome-shaped capping, and both the nave and chancel were also protected, at no very distant period, with a roofing of stone. Dr. Hilbert, in his *Description of the Shetland Isles*, refers to this little Orkney edifice as a specimen of the ancient Scandinavian Church, corresponding, as he conceives, to others which formerly existed in Shetland. After describing Burra, St. Ronan's, and other localities in the Bay of Scalloway, he goes on to remark,—“On an adjacent promontory, named Ireland, once stood a church which was adorned with a lofty steeple. But of three buildings of this kind situated in Ireland, Burra, and Tingwall, that were said to have been erected by Norwegian sisters, it is unfortunate that not one should now remain.”¹ It is in illustration of the presumed appearance of those that the

¹ Hilbert's *Shetland*, p. 457.

church at Egilshay is referred to as "a small religious edifice in Orkney, which these kirks of Shetland are said to have much resembled."

The date of these churches, which tradition thus assigns to Norwegian builders, is not known. If, however, we were to take the dedication of the one still remaining on the island of Egilshay as a clue to the whole, we should be compelled to assign them to a comparatively recent period, and one later by more than a century than the most modern of the Round Towers of the mainland.

According to well-known Scandinavian records, the introduction of Christianity into the Orkney Islands was effected by the Norwegian king Olave Tryggveson, on his return from an expedition to Ireland in the year 995, having himself received baptism not long before in the Scilly Isles. This important change, however, which the warrior missionary characteristically effected at the edge of the sword, there is good reason for believing only affected the Norwegian jarls. Christianity, as has been already shown, had long preceded the conquest of the islands by the Northmen. The missionaries of Iona had not been so effectually scared by the intrusion of these fierce invaders as to abandon the numerous scenes of their early labours; and the influence of native Christian art is abundantly manifest on all the earlier works of the Christianized Northmen. It would therefore be entirely consistent with the history of the islands to believe that the church which still stands, though in ruin, on the island of Egilshay, may have been dedicated to Christian rites amid "the storm-swept Orcaes," before the Norse king landed his strange missionary crew on the neighbouring isle. Further consideration, however, suggests that the tower, which is its most characteristic feature, varies so much from the symmetrical structures of the mainland, and from all the Irish examples of the Round

Tower, as to be regarded with greater probability as the imperfect imitation, by the Christianized Northmen, of older native models which have now wholly disappeared.

Whatever date be assigned to the simple little church and tower of St. Magnus, Egilshay, it can hardly admit of doubt that they were built from Irish models. The frequent expeditions of the Northmen to Ireland would alone suffice to account for this. Olave Tryggveson, as we have seen, visited Ireland before his memorable visit to the Orkneys, on his way to Norway, bent on introducing the new faith into his own country. Sigurd, the jarl whom he converted by the summary alternative of embracing Christianity or forfeiting his dominions, fell in the great battle of Clontarf, in Ireland, A.D. 1014, in which Danes and Northmen, of Northumberland, the Orkneys, Hebrides, and Man, fought along with other foreign auxiliaries, on behalf of the Danish colonists of Ireland, against the famous Irish monarch, Brian Boru; while among his allies were the Scottish maormors of Lennox and Mar. Gray's celebrated ode of *The Fatal Sisters* is a paraphrase of an ancient poem in the Icelandic Saga, on the battle in which the Northmen suffered so terrible a defeat. In this contemporary poem, Hilda, the Scandinavian goddess of war and victory, is introduced with her weird sisters, the Valkyries, who attended on the field of slaughter to convey the spirits of the dying heroes to the hall of Odin, and otherwise received in the Scandinavian mythology nearly the same attributes as the *Parce* of the Greeks. These Scandinavian Fates are represented as having been seen at Caithness, in Scotland, by a man named Darraudar, on the very day of the battle of Clontarf. They were on horseback, riding swiftly towards a hill, into which they entered, and on looking through an opening of the rock he saw twelve gigantic females weaving a web at a strange loom. Their

shuttles were weapons of war, their warp was weighted with human heads, and they wove with human entrails the ghastly texture of "the loom of hell." As they plied their shuttles they sang a dreadful incantation, on finishing which they tore the web into twelve pieces, and each taking her portion, they mounted their black steeds and rode off, six to the north and six to the south. That same day they appeared on the field of Clontarf busied amid the heaps of the slain. Such was the creed of the Norse jarls sixteen years after the conversion of Sigurd of Orkney by Olave, and the sole fruit of their last visit to Ireland. It is not to them, therefore, that we must look for the introduction of the models of the first Christian churches of Orkney. The sculptured stone of Bressay, in Shetland, inscribed in Ogham characters, is claimed by Dr. Graves as thoroughly Irish in its workmanship; and it can scarcely admit of doubt that the early missionaries of St. Columba were themselves the architects of the first simple oratories in the Orkney and Shetland islands which consecrated many of the sites dedicated for centuries thereafter to the rites of the Christian faith. Their architecture must have been modified by the peculiar building material which the thin schistose slabs of those islands chiefly supply; but the masonry of the little apse and other remains of the Girth House, or Round Church of Orphir, shows how well it could be adapted to the purposes of the primitive church-builder. The development of such native art was arrested by the intrusion of the Pagan Northmen; and by the time their Christianized descendants turned their attention to ecclesiastical architecture, intercourse with the Continent had familiarized them with the Romanesque style, already recognised as the special type of Norman Christian art. Its influence may be partially traced, even in the humble fame of St. Magnus, Egilshay, with the rounded heads of

its doorways and chancel arch; though as a whole it contrasts in a singular degree with the imposing magnificence of the Cathedral of Kirkwall, dedicated to the same favourite saint. The little church of Egilshay closely corresponds in general characteristics with Dr. Hibbert's account of the ancient churches of Shetland, of which traces still exist. "All the ecclesiastical buildings," he remarks, "appear to have been devoid of the least show and ornament, the ingenuity of the architect extending little further than in constructing a round vaulted roof. The pointed arch, the pinnacled buttresses, or rich stone canopy, never dignified the chapels of humble Hialtland. The number of them, however, was remarkably great. The parish of Yell, for instance, boasted twenty chapels, where only two or three are used at the present day."¹ The venerable little church of Egilshay has fallen into like decay, and the inhabitants are now compelled to seek a place of worship on a neighbouring island.

Like other Orkney buildings of very different dates, this primitive church is constructed almost entirely of the unhewn clay slate of the district. The tower is unsymmetrical, tapering somewhat irregularly towards the top, and bulging considerably on the side attached to the church. It differs from other examples in having no external doorway. It has evidently been built contemporaneously with the church, and is entered from the nave by means of a door through the west wall. The accompanying view from the south-east will help to convey some idea of its external appearance. Since the view engraved in Dr. Hibbert's *Plate of Antiquities* was drawn, the stone roofs both of the church and tower have disappeared, along with a portion of the walls of the latter, which was taken down from the apprehended

¹ Hibbert's *Shetland*, p. 530.

danger of its falling. The following are the proportions of the church and tower: The greatest circumference of the tower is forty-eight feet, and its present height about forty-five feet. There is no appearance of any stair having been constructed in it, but two beams of oak near the top, and two lower down, still indicate the arrangement of the floors by which it has at one time been subdivided. Directly above the door on the eastern side, connecting it with the nave, are the only two windows in the tower, one above the other, arched with unhewn stone. The doorway is four feet in height from



FIG. 193.—Church of St. Magnus, Eglishay.

the present floor, and two feet four inches broad. The walls of the nave are about three feet thick, and it measures thirty feet long by sixteen feet wide within the walls. It is entered both on the north and south sides by doorways constructed "*more Romano*," with a plain semicircular arch of unhewn stone. On the north side there is but one small arched loop or window, three feet three inches in height, and nine inches wide; while on the south side, in addition to a corresponding opening of similar size, there are two plain square-headed windows, measuring respectively two feet eleven inches by one foot two inches, and one foot nine inches by one

foot one inch. The chancel is still covered in with a plain semicircular arch, above which has been a chamber, constructed between it and the outer covering of stone, and accessible only by an entrance over the chancel arch, where in all probability was kept the muniment chest of the officiating priest. Such an arrangement is traceable in early Irish churches, as in the original work of the beautiful church at Rathain, in King's County, which Dr. Petrie assigns as the work of St. Fidhairle Ua Suanaigh, who died in 763.¹ The chancel measures within the walls eleven feet by nine feet seven inches, and is lighted only by small windows in the north and south walls, measuring each twenty by eleven inches. But perhaps the most singular feature of this interesting structure is the chancel arch, which, directly contrary to those of corresponding edifices in Ireland, has its sides inclined inward towards the base, so as to present a complete horse-shoe arch.

The dedication of the little Church of St. Magnus, Egilshay, to that favourite northern saint, is abundantly accounted for by the historical fact that in its immediate neighbourhood, if not indeed, as the Aberdeen Breviary states, within this building, the gentle Magnus Erlendson was hewn down by his fierce cousin Hacon, A.D. 1106. It affords confirmation of the source of the Christianity of the Northern Isles, that we are told in the same venerable Scottish ecclesiastical authority, that Magnus commended his soul to the Redeemer, to St. Mary, and to the old northern apostles, *St. Palladius* and *St. Serf*. The fame of the sanctity of the martyred Earl of Orkney was speedily attested, according to the faith of the period, by numerous miracles wrought at his tomb. Pilgrimages were made to his shrine, and saintly honours accorded to him, not in Orkney only, but throughout

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 8vo, pp. 242, 245.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and the Scottish mainland. Within twenty years after his death the legendary incidents of his life had been woven into an Icelandic Saga, strangely differing from that of Hilda and her attendant Valkyries. Ronald, the nephew of the martyred Earl, obtained a grant from the King of Norway of the possessions which were his by right of succession to his uncle ; and, on successfully establishing his claims, the cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall was begun in or about the year 1138, in fulfilment of a vow he had made while fortune still hung doubtful in the scale.

The reputation of the sainted Earl has outlived that of any other Scottish saint, if we except the good St. Margaret. His name is still spoken with reverence throughout Orkney and Shetland, independently of all idea of saintship or martyrdom, to which indeed his claims are greatly more doubtful than his just title to the character of an upright ruler in a barbarous age. He died in a private quarrel with his own cousin, in which no other questions than those of mutual interest appear to have been involved. But the Church availed itself of the reverence which his virtues had inspired ; and to this it is no doubt mainly owing that, notwithstanding the extreme veneration in which his name was held, little trustworthy information is to be found regarding him, even in the authorized records of hagiology. The Aberdeen Breviary styles him "the Apostle of Orkney and the Hebrides." Other old authorities refer to him as a bishop or missionary to the Pagans of the north ; and a writer in the first Statistical Accounts¹ winds up a sufficiently amusing attempt at tracing his history, by showing the great probability that he was a knight templar !

¹ Sinclair's *Statist. Acc.* vol. xix. p. 44.

The characteristics of the majestic cathedral of the Northern Isles furnish valuable elements of comparison with other examples of early ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland; while they confirm the greater antiquity of the simple edifice which was deserted as the see of the Orkney bishops, for the stately edifice at Kirkwall dedicated to the sainted Earl. If we except the common feature of the rounded arch, no elements of comparison exist. The cathedral is a well-defined example of the Romanesque style, bearing no traces of the rudeness or imperfection which might be looked for in the transition from an humble and homely fane to one of such pretensions; but distinctly marked as belonging to a later period than Dunfermline, Kelso, and other of the older Scottish abbeys of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEDIEVAL ECCLESIOLOGY.

THE subject of Medieval Ecclesiology is much too comprehensive to be treated with attention proportionate to the importance justly ascribed to it, in the compass of a single chapter. But some notice of it is indispensable to the completeness of any systematic treatise on Scottish antiquities ; and in attempting this it becomes once more necessary to glance at the ethnical elements on which depend the transition from the earlier and simpler characteristics already noticed. Whatever value be attached to the attempts advanced in the previous chapter to give some precision to the history of Primitive Scottish Ecclesiology : little doubt can now be entertained that throughout the period of Celtic rule in Scotland and Ireland, a peculiar character pervaded the native arts, and greatly modified the forms of Christian architecture introduced along with the new faith. Long, however, before Thorfinn. subjected the Celtic population of the north to Norwegian influences, races of Teutonic blood were securing a footing in the Lothians. So early as the year 364, Ammianus Marcellinus includes the Saxons, along with the Picti, Scotti, and Attacotti, as the invaders of the Roman province ; and Nennius alludes to Saxon settlements even in the Orkneys within ten years thereafter. The traces of Saxon arts in the more northern Pagan barrows, though rare, have been

met with in sufficient numbers to confirm such traditional chronicles ; and repeated allusions indicate the colonization of the eastern districts of Scotland to the north of the Firth of Forth by immigrants from the northern shores of the German mainland, prior to the intrusion of the Northmen. From the middle of the seventh century the limits of the kingdom of Northumbria extended to the Forth ; and though the Angles maintained their varying northern frontier only by a constant warfare with the Picts and Scots, yet the population must have become, to a great extent, Teutonic before the recognition of Egbert of Wessex as *bretwalda* or chief ruler of England, in 829. In 867, the Danes, or *Dubhgalls*, a different Scandinavian branch from the old Scottish Northmen, conquered the kingdom of Northumbria, and it is not till after the accession of the Saxon Athelstane, in 925, that we again find it temporarily incorporated with the southern kingdoms. With those portions of English history we have little further to do than to note the evidence they furnish of the same remarkable changes having affected the population of the Scottish Lowlands which divided the races of the south into *Weals* and *Englekin*, or Celtic and Teutonic : Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, being comprehended from a very early period under the common name of *Englen* or *English*. The changes which followed on the Danish conquest again temporarily isolated Northumbria, where Harold Harefoot established a separate kingdom ; and when Macbeth secured the concurrence of Thorfinn in his accession to Duncan's throne, he included in his dominions a large portion of the Scottish Northumbria. To this succeeded the accession of Malcolm Canmore, Duncan's son, a prince of the old race of *MacAlpin*, but sharing also through his mother in the Anglo-Saxon royal blood, educated at the Court of Edward the Confessor,

and restored to the throne of his fathers chiefly by the aid of the Northumbrian Saxons.

The establishment of Malcolm on the Scottish throne dates from the year 1058 ; but four years prior to this he had succeeded, with the aid of his uncle, Seward, Earl of Northumberland, and a Saxon army, in driving Macbeth beyond the Forth, notwithstanding the strenuous aid of the Northmen, with whom a large portion of the Celtic race were then closely allied. From this important epoch in our national history dates the commencement of that remarkable revolution to which the Saxonizing of Scotland is due. The Norman triumph at Hastings greatly accelerated its progress. Already the Scottish Court was the resort of numerous Anglo-Saxon nobles and leaders, whose services had given them claims on the Scottish Crown, and whose retainers accompanied them to settle on their new possessions in the Lowlands. But Norman aggressions drove many more to seek from the northern ruler the shelter which Malcolm had found in his adversity at the English court ; nor must we forget that his own barbarous policy helped to colonize his southern territories. Leaguings, when it suited his purpose, against the Norman aggressors, he wasted the country as far as Durham in 1070, bringing back with him so many prisoners of both sexes, that an old chronicler remarks : - " So great was the number of captives, that for many years they were to be found not only in every Scottish village, but in every Scottish hovel."¹ Thus by the most opposite means was a Saxon population invested in the possession of the Lothians. Norman adventurers followed, dissatisfied with the Conqueror's rewards, as the Saxons of old blood were impatient of the Norman yoke. The Saxon Edward, it will be remembered, had Norman blood in his veins, spent his

¹ *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 201 ; *Hailes' Annals.*

early years in Normandy, and when he at length attained to the English Crown, surrounded himself with Norman barons and churchmen, and bestowed on them some of the highest preferments in the kingdom. At his Court, therefore, Malcolm could acquire no such prejudices against the Norman as animated the expatriated followers of Harold. To him the discontented Norman baron with his hardy men-at arms was as welcome as the Saxon thane with his faithful retinue. Both found a ready portion in the fertile Lothians, in an age when even the multitude of children were "as arrows in the hands of a mighty man." It was a peaceful and nearly bloodless revolution, yet by it this northern kingdom was more completely transformed than by all the protracted struggles of Roman, Piet, or Northman. The sceptre was still swayed by a prince of the Celtic line; but the power was passing away for ever from the representatives of the oldest Aryan colonists of Europe.

The victory at Hastings was far less effectual in making England Norman than in making Scotland Saxon. In this respect the usurpation of Macbeth, which drove Malcolm to seek refuge and to acquire his education at the English Court, exercised a remarkable influence on the future history of both countries, and prepared in requital a home for the Saxon, which has proved the birthland of the most vigorous offshoot of the race. But chief among the Anglo-Saxon fugitives is the noble princess, sister of Edgar Atheling, who brought to the Scottish throne the civilisation as well as the hereditary rights of the race of the Confessor. The earlier years of Malcolm's reign appear to have exhibited all the fiercest characteristics of a disputed succession; and it is probable that, during the long conflict between Northman, Celt, and Saxon, the native arts and civilisation were greatly deteriorated. Its ecclesiastical system had suf-

ferred no less than its civil arts. The church of St. Columba had been spoiled of its temporal possessions, and of some of its canonical usages most heartily favoured by the good Abbot of Iona. Clerical celibacy, especially, appears to have fallen into general neglect; and lay impropriation and hereditary succession to ecclesiastical preferments followed as natural results. The relaxation of rule and practice in relation to the celibacy of the clergy is illustrated by the fact that the Saxon princess, in giving her hand to Malcolm Canmore, plighted troth with the legitimate grandchild of an Abbot of Dunkeld. To assume the primitive character of our early northern Church on such grounds would be erroneous. It is sufficient for our present purpose that it differed in some important respects from the Roman Church of Western Christendom. Its peculiar features originated chiefly from the isolation of the Scottish Church and nation; but that isolation was now at an end. The Princess Margaret became the queen of Malcolm Canmore, and the sharer of his throne. Her gentle spirit, not untinctured by the asceticism of the age, softened the fierce passions of her husband, and made his wild nature bend obedient to her will. The grandniece of the Confessor became the reformer of the Scottish Church, and the redresser of its abuses. Provincial councils were summoned at her command, at which Malcolm acted as interpreter between the Saxon queen and his Celtic clergy. Her great aim was to assimilate the Scottish Church to that of England, and indeed of Rome. To her and to her sons we chiefly owe the eradication of the Culdees, the successors of the first recluses and monks who established religious fraternities in Scotland, and who differed latterly from other orders probably more in their laxity as to monastic observances than on points of faith. Yet there were even then some worthy represen-

tatives of their primitive missionary founders. The Chartulary of St. Andrews, which furnishes curious evidence of their absorption, partly by conformity, but still more by force, into the new orders of canons regular, also affords some insight into these primitive religious societies not unsuited to awaken regrets at their arbitrary extinction. The sons of St. Margaret, Edgar, Alexander, and David, though differing in nearly every other respect, concurred in carrying out the reformation by which the Scottish Church was brought into uniformity with the ecclesiastical standards of the age. Worthy descendants of the grandniece of the Confessor, they not only made the Church of England their model, but frequently selected their spiritual directors from its clergy, preferred English priests to the bishoprics, and peopled their abbeys with its monks. The change effected on the nation was in truth more an ecclesiastical than a civil revolution, and the evidences of its influence are still abundant after the lapse of upwards of seven hundred years. In the period which intervened between the landing of the fugitive Saxon princess at St. Margaret's Hope and the death of her younger son David, nearly all the Scottish sees were founded or restored, many of the principal monasteries were instituted, their chapels and other dependencies erected, and the elder order of Culdee fraternities and missionary bishops superseded by a complete parochial system. It was David I. who ejected the brethren of St. Serf established on the secluded little isle of Lochleven, and merged both that and the Culdee house of Monymusk into the new priory of canons regular of St. Austin established at St. Andrews. We read with no little interest the brief inventory of the Lochleven library, thus unscrupulously seized by the "soir sanct." Among its sixteen volumes were the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the three books of Solomon, a Commentary

on the Song of Solomon, and another on the book of Genesis :¹ no discreditable indication of the studies of the recluses of Lochleven, whom some have inclined to rank among the Protestants of their age. But old things were then passing away, under the guidance of reformers not less zealous than those of the sixteenth century. An entire change, moreover, necessarily resulted from the novel relations subsisting between the northern and southern kingdoms. The seat of Scottish civilisation had hitherto been chiefly in the north and west, while the Lothians and the southern dales, as portions of Northumbria, had been but a debatable land : the battle-ground oftener than the secure possession of Pietish, Scottish, or Saxon kings. On this very account great facilities existed for its settlement by southern fugitives, ready to hold their lands of the Scottish crown by feudal military tenure, and to defend it against the aggressions of Norman England. A charter preserved in the treasury at Durham, and belonging at latest to the very commencement of the twelfth century, furnishes interesting illustration of the new elements of strength and progress infused into the kingdom by the colonization of its southern districts. The charter relates to the founding of the church of Edenham, on the north bank of the Tweed, in the rural manse of which the poet of the Seasons was born in the year 1700 : one also of the many results which have flowed from that old deed of piety, executed five centuries before. The settler is Thor the Long, a Saxon immigrant who established himself on the banks of the Tweed by invitation of Edgar, the son and successor of Malcolm. Attached to the charter is the interesting seal engraved here the size of the original. It represents Thor habited in mantle and tunic, seated, and holding his sheathed sword ; and around it is the singular legend,

¹ *Liber Cart. Sanct. Andree*, p. 43.

THOR ME MITTIT AMICO, indicative of its use chiefly for affixing to letters of friendly intercourse. The charter to which this curious seal is attached thus describes at once the royal grant and the pious gift of the new settler, and may very happily serve to illustrate the process of Teutonic colonization of the Scottish Lowlands: "To all the sons of holy mother Church, Thor the Long, greeting in the Lord: Be it known that Aedgar, my Lord, King of Scots, gave to me Aednam, a desert; that with his help and my own money I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St.



FIG. 104.—Seal of Thor Longus.

Cuthbert; which church, with a ploughgate of land, I have given to God, and to St. Cuthbert and his monks, to be possessed by them for ever."¹ Such was in reality the process by which this "Saxon Conquest" was accomplished. It was wastes, not men, that had to be conquered, and therefore the victory is chronicled alone in such brief parentheses as that of the Edenham charter.

The change which took place on the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland at this period corresponded in character and extent with the reconstruction of the

¹ Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 38.

Church itself. The Christian arts, introduced to a great extent along with the new faith from Ireland, had hitherto been modified chiefly by local influences. The reformation effected by Queen Margaret and her sons arrested the development of a peculiar native style, and made the architecture of England as well as its ecclesiastical system supply the new Scottish model; and, for the first time, a chronological coincidence is recognisable in the styles of the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland and England.

We possess a narrative of the private life of Malcolm and his Queen, on the authority of Turgot, the confessor of the latter, and subsequently Bishop of St. Andrews, who had frequent opportunities of intimate intercourse with both. Amid the austerities and superstitions which belonged less to the individuals than the age, it is impossible not to admire the rare picture of domestic charity and kindly affections which it discloses. It was at Dunfermline, according to Turgot, that the auspicious marriage of Malcolm and Margaret took place in the year 1067; and one of the first works of the Queen was to found a church where her nuptials had been celebrated, which she dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and enriched with many costly gifts. Such was the origin of the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, though no doubt some church or chapel existed at this chosen place of royal residence prior to the foundation of St. Margaret. The editor of the *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* remarks: "The original church of Canmore, perhaps not of stone, must have been replaced by a new edifice when it was dedicated in the reign of David I. If any part of that structure remain, it must be little more than the foundations. Age, or the accidents of a rough time, or the increasing consequence of the house, gave rise to an enlarged and more magnificent structure

about the middle of the thirteenth century."¹ It cannot be difficult, I think, to show that such conclusions are erroneous, and at least totally inadmissible in reference to the sombre and impressive nave of Dunfermline, the oldest and perhaps most interesting specimen of the Romanesque style now remaining in Scotland. So far from Malcolm Canmore's church being probably of wood, there are some of the most substantial early Romanesque structures in England which there is good reason for ascribing to the same builders who erected the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, in the lifetime of its pious foundress. Malcolm was present at the laying of the foundation stone of Durham Cathedral by Turgot, prior of Durham, the confessor and biographer of his own pious queen, on the 11th of August 1093, shortly before his last fatal rupture with England. His son Alexander witnessed the deposition of the relics of St. Cuthbert in the same sacred edifice in 1104; and only three years later the prior of Durham was promoted to the see of St. Andrews. No one who has had the opportunity of examining both Durham and Dunfermline, can have failed to observe the remarkable correspondence of their character and details. The same massive and dissimilar piers; the same chevron, spiral, and billet mouldings distinguishing the compartments of the nave; the same chamfered cushion capitals to the heavy cylindrical shafts; as well as a marked conformity in minor details: all point to a common origin for Durham Cathedral and Dunfermline Abbey. St. Finnan, a monk of Iona, is said to have built the first church of Lindisfarne, a timber erection, and the original seat of the see of Durham, in the seventh century. Scottish missionaries twice introduced the faith into Northumberland; Iona and Melrose supplied successive heads to the southern

¹ *Regist. de Dunferm.* Pref. xxv.

house ; and even after the Conqueror compelled the chapter to receive a bishop of his appointment, of Norman blood, the intimate relations between the see and the northern abbeys appear to have been very temporarily interrupted. In so far as plainness and massive simplicity afford any ground for assigning priority of date, the argument is in favour of the greater antiquity of Dunfermline Abbey, which must have been far advanced, if not indeed finished, according to the original design, before the foundation of the Cathedral at Durham was laid in 1093, as the death of both of the royal founders took place before the close of the year ; and they were buried in front of the Rood altar. Perhaps the fact of their interment there, and not in the choir,—to which the bodies of both were translated with solemn ceremonial and, according to the old chroniclers, with miraculous attestations of their enduring affection,¹ four years after the canonization of St. Margaret in 1246,—may be thought to afford presumptive evidence that the abbey choir was then incomplete. This, however, is by no means probable, as the choir was always the part of the church first built. But it was doubtless with a view to receive into a structure worthy of so sacred a depository the relics of the sainted Queen, that the choir was remodelled according to the prevailing First pointed style of the thirteenth century. We possess a curious proof that even the reconstruction of the choir was effected, not by demolishing and rebuilding the whole, but by remodelling the original masonry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries : a process of common occurrence with nearly all the large cathedral and abbey churches ; for by a bull of Pope Innocent iv., dated September 15th, in the seventh year of his pontificate² (1250), he dispenses with the reconsecration of the abbey, because the walls

¹ Wyntownis Cronykil, b. vii. chap. x.

² *Regist. de Dunferm.* p. 184.

of the former church for the most part still remained.¹ No doubt the nave also underwent modifications, of which it bears evidence, but all its essential features can be assigned to no other period than that of the original foundation.

The interesting little chapel of St. Margaret in the Castle of Edinburgh, which it was the author's good fortune to rediscover, when converted to the use of a powder magazine, after its very existence had been lost sight of for upwards of a century,² derives its chief value from its historical associations. Some of its characteristic details have been assigned to the later period of the Romanesque style; but a careful examination of the simple capitals of the jam-shafts, and the low relief of the mouldings on the chancel arch, have led me to the belief that there is no evidence in its structure inconsistent with the idea of its being the oratory of Queen Margaret, which, according to Barbour, she caused to be decorated with a painting of prophetic import, still remaining in his time³ (*obit* 1396). Certainly if the chapel of Malcolm's queen occupied the same site, and was in existence in the poet's day, no one will question that the present edifice was already a venerable structure in the reign of David II. The walls are thin, and the details less massive than usual in Romanesque work of the eleventh century; but the unornate simplicity of the structure is inconsistent with the idea of its having replaced the royal oratory; and the plain coved vault of

¹ The reference is no doubt also to so large a portion of the original structure having been left entire, including the present nave: "*Licet ecclesia vera post consecracionem ipsius per nobilioris structure fabricam fuit augmentata quia tamen proponitis quod antiqui parietes ejus pro majori parte in pristino statu perdurent. Vobis auctoritate presentium indulgemus ut eisdem parietibus in pristino statu perdurantibus nonnullis vos compellere valeat ad eandem Ecclesiam propter hoc denuo consecrandam,*" etc.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, vol. i. p. 128.

³ Barbour's *Bruce*, book vii. l. 1037; Dr. Jamieson's edition, vol. i. p. 211.

the apse, the small round-headed unornamented windows, and other simple details, so different from the later work of Dalmeny or Leuchars, confirm the idea of its being the original chapel. By a charter bearing date 14th February 1390, King Robert II. endowed the altar of the chapel of St. Margaret the Queen, in Edinburgh Castle, with a yearly rental of eight pounds; but this was subsequently transferred to the chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, in the same fortress, probably erected at that period, and only demolished towards the close of the last century.¹ The great improbability of the oratory of Queen Margaret having been demolished, only to give place to so small and plain a structure, either in the reign of Alexander or of David, when many ecclesiastical structures were re-edified on a scale of magnificence according with the novel arts introduced into Scotland in the twelfth century, confirms the doubt that the unornate little chapel was the work of either of St. Margaret's sons. At any rate the associations suggested by its name strongly tempt to the belief that the little edifice which crowns the summit of the Castle rock once formed the oratory of the pious queen, to whom Shakspeare alludes in *Macbeth*, though he makes Macduff speak of her not as the wife but the mother of Malcolm:—

“ The queen, that bore thee,
Oftener upon her knees than on her feet,
Died every day she lived.”²

The portions which remain of the original Romanesque structure of Alexander I.'s foundation on Inchcolm, erected

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 127. Notices of both chapels repeatedly occur in the Chamberlain's Rolls; but with an obvious confusion of the two—explicable perhaps on the supposition that the chaplain was bound to serve both altars. A curious notice of a meeting held in the chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1447 occurs in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. 367, No. 351.

² *Macbeth*, Act IV. Scene 3.

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about 1123, are however, characterized by a like unornate simplicity; nor is it till the reign of David I. that we have any certain examples of the highly decorated late Romanesque work. Even in the Abbey of Jedburgh much of the original work is heavy and plain, compared with the singularly rich details which lighten the solid masses of Kelso Abbey. Of Holyrood Abbey, founded by David I. in the same year with that of Kelso, comparatively little use can be made in fixing the chronology of Scottish medieval architecture. From its vicinity to the capital, and its long occupation by the Court, every invading army spoiled or burned it, and almost every abbot made some new additions or repairs, till it has become a complete ecclesiological enigma. In the cloister doorway, on the south side of the nave, it presents undoubted remains of the original foundation of David I. The west tower, the arcades in the aisles, and various other portions, indicate that the main walls of the building belong to the transition period, prior to the complete development of the First-pointed style; most probably



FIG. 195.—Abbot Crawford's Arms.

in the minority of Alexander III. The great west doorway and centre aisle, and the beautiful arcade, with sculptured heads in the spandrels, which adorns the west front of the tower, are in the very best style of First-pointed work; while the external north wall and its richly decorated buttresses, as well as various additions on the south side, are reconstructions of Abbot Crawford, who succeeded to the abbacy in 1457, as appears from his arms still visible on various parts of the new work.

The cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, has already been referred to as an exceedingly interesting specimen of late Romanesque work, com-

menced about the year 1136 ; so that from the banks of the Tweed to these remote northern isles we find the Romanesque style universally adopted in the first years of the twelfth century. One curious and unique example of this period, however, must not be overlooked. The remarkable little church and tower of St. Rule, at St. Andrews, have excited scarcely less interest than the Round Towers of Brechin and Abernethy, and have been the subjects of equally vague speculations. The slender tower measures upwards of a hundred feet in height, by twenty feet eight inches in breadth at base, while the choir is only thirty-one and a half feet long.¹ Such singular proportions are well calculated to arrest attention, though the edifice is, as a whole, more remarkable for its unique character than for the grace or consistency of its parts. The excess in height over all the other measurements of the tower prevails, though to a less extent, in the entire design. The accumulated soil covers the bases of the columns of the chancel arch, and thus detracts from this peculiar characteristic of the primitive metropolitan cathedral ; but even now, while the interior of the choir measures only nineteen feet ten inches in breadth, the height of the chancel arch is twenty-one and a half feet, and that of the arch in the tower, formerly connecting the nave and choir, is twenty-four feet two inches ; from the floor to the top of the side walls is twenty nine feet seven inches, and to the apex of the original high-pointed

¹ The dimensions of the choir of St. Rule's Church, as it now stands with the chancel demolished, are : extreme length externally thirty-one feet eight inches, breadth twenty-five feet ; breadth of chancel arch within the inner pillars nine feet ; present height of the chancel arch, the base of the pillars being covered, twenty-one feet four and three quarter inches ; present height of external wall thirty feet. The windows are small, round-headed, and quite plain, with a deep internal splay, and an external one of little more than one-fourth of the whole thickness of the wall. They measure in the day-light, or place for inserting the glass frame, six feet five inches high, and one foot eight inches broad.

roof, as shown on the tower wall, is fifty-five feet five inches.¹ Assuming the existence of three steps at the chancel arch, we shall not probably err in adding to all the latter measurements at the least from four to five feet, thereby presenting a striking contrast to the very narrow proportions of the choir. The details are extremely simple. The sections of the piers and arch mouldings of the chancel figured here will suffice to show that they partake somewhat of the meagreness of the larger features, while they are devoid of the massiveness so peculiarly characteristic of the older Roman

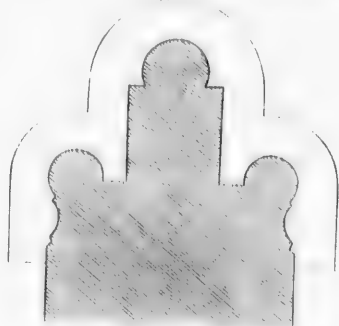


FIG. 196. Section of Arch Mouldings.

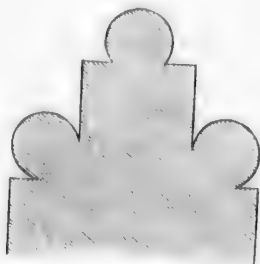


FIG. 197. Section of Pier.

esque. Nevertheless, in this, as in other details of the building, the architect has shown much ingenuity in economizing the limited means and materials at his command. The tenuity and apparent meagreness of design of the chancel arch, especially as seen in section, produce nevertheless an effect of breadth and solidity such as a number of less distinct and boldly relieved features would have failed to effect. The columns are finished by simple double-cushioned capitals, surmounted by a plain chamfered abacus, from which springs the arch:

¹ The marks of three successive roofs are traceable on the east wall of the tower.

one of the most singular features of this curious building. Its details are shown in the section, but the arch considerably exceeds a semicircle; and mounted on its lofty piers, with the tall narrow tower beyond, it presents a remarkable yet by no means unpleasing effect. From the excessive height which prevails throughout all the most prominent features of this church, it possesses little in common with such sombre and massive structures as Kirkwall or Dunfermline, or with the more ornate little Romanesque churches of Leuchars or Dalmeny. Its walls, indeed, which have so well withstood



FIG. 198.—Chancel Arch, St. Rule's.

the tooth of time, are only two feet seven inches thick. A careful examination of its details, however, leaves no room to doubt that it belongs to the twelfth century, when the older Romanesque was being modified by many novel additions prior to its abandonment for the First-pointed style. In all its features it strikingly contrasts with the massive works of Bishop Turgot, a great builder; and there can be little risk of error in recognising in the church of St. Rule the basilica of his successor Bishop Robert, the founder of the Priory of Canons Regular of St. Andrews, about A.D. 1144. The

bishop had much to reform at St. Andrews ere either his new foundation or his episcopal see were placed on the creditable footing in which he left them; and the singular proportions of the church of St. Rule may perhaps be ascribable to the desire of giving with his first slender means the utmost dignity to the metropolitan church. It is probable, however, that this unique structure, with its singularly disproportionate campanile, occupies the site of an ancient Culdee church, similar to those of Brechin and Abernethy. Here therefore we may have the transitional labours of builders substituting the square tower with Romanesque details, but designed in its lofty proportions to rival the familiar and more graceful round tower which it superseded, and to furnish, like them, a defensive as well as an ornamental addition to the church. The early chapter seals of St. Andrews afford some of the few undoubted examples of tolerably accurate architectural portraiture. The oldest of these, a seal attached to a charter A.D. 1160, shows the miniature cathedral as it probably originally appeared, with central and west towers, choir, and nave, but altogether of much smaller dimensions than the greater number of parish churches. The windows of two lights in the top of the tower may be compared to the plainer example, divided by a cylindrical shaft, with cushioned capital, and moulded base, in the lower part of the tower of Dunblane Cathedral, a fragment of the first cathedral of St. Blane. But the lighter and more ornate style of those of St. Rule fully accord with the later date assigned to it here.

Specimens of Romanesque parish churches are by no means rare in Scotland. Besides those of Leuchars and Dalmeny may be named Duddingston, Ratho, and Borthwick: Mid-Lothian; Gullane: East Lothian; Uphall, Abercorn, and Kirkliston: West Lothian; St. Helen's,

Cockburnspath; Berwickshire; Morthlach and Monymusk; Aberdeenshire; St. Columba's Southend, Kilehouslan; Campbeltown, and the beautiful little ruined church of St. Blanc, on the island of Bute, with its Romanesque chancel arch and graceful First-pointed chancel; besides various others more or less perfect still remaining in Argyleshire: all presenting interesting features illustrative of the development of the Romanesque style in Scotland, and furnishing evidence of the great impetus given to church building at the period.

Such was the change effected on Scottish art by the remarkable historical events which gave the throne of England to the Norman invader, and established the descendants of the Saxon Alfred on that of Scotland. For nearly a century the ecclesiastical architecture of England and Scotland is one in style, coincident in date, and uniform in character of details. This unwonted uniformity, however, is clearly traceable to causes the full effect of which was ere long modified by other influences. Soon after the introduction of the First-pointed or Early English style a marked difference is discoverable, and thenceforth the dates and peculiar characteristics of the ecclesiastical architecture of the two countries disagree in many essential points. The First-pointed style appears to have reached its limits at fully as early a period in Scotland as in England. The choir of Glasgow Cathedral, built by Bishop Jocelin, between 1188 and 1197, though not to be compared with the Cathedral of Salisbury in loftiness of proportions or grandeur of effect as a whole, is certainly farther advanced in the rich and finished character of its beautiful capitals and other varied details. The crypt, which formed the first work of Bishop Jocelin, is not surpassed by any structure of its class, and hardly indeed equalled by any other crypt in the kingdom. As a specimen of pure First-

pointed work it is deserving of the most careful study; and the judicious restorations effected under the direction of the late Mr. William Nixon, have rendered it an object which the student of mediæval architecture may visit with unqualified admiration and delight. So little has hitherto been done in the way of investigating the history or peculiar character of Scottish Ecclesiology, that few examples have yet been assigned to their true dates. It has been customary to ascribe the founding of the cathedral church of St. Andrews, for example, to Bishop Arnold, A.D. 1159-1163, and loosely to assume from this that a considerable portion of it was of that early date. But the mention by Wyntoun of his interment in the "auld kyrk,"¹ i.e., the church of St. Rule, must be accepted as some indication that the new cathedral had made no great progress at his death. The beautiful fragment of its choir which still remains may with little hesitation be ascribed to the later episcopate of Bishop William, A.D. 1202-1238; during whose occupation of the see we have evidence of considerable building being in progress. Specimens of pure First-pointed work are by no means rare in Scotland, ranging from the stately cathedral of St. Mungo, or the ruined abbey of Dryburgh, to the chancel of the lovely little church of St. Blane in the Isle of Bute. But with the exception of the magnificent fragments of the abbey of Aberbrothoc which still remain, no more characteristic specimen of the peculiar style which arose in Scotland in the reign of William the Lion can be referred to, than the three eastern bays added to the old Romanesque cathedral of St. Magnus, in the remote Orkneys. The details are indeed for the most part First-pointed, and the piers beautifully moulded and clustered shafts, but the arches that rise from them are of the same form as

¹ Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, book vii. chap. 7.

those of 1136 ; though also richly moulded in conformity with the style which superseded the Romanesque in the latter part of the twelfth century. Such work can neither be consistently classed with the true First-pointed, of which the choir of Glasgow Cathedral is a type, nor with the later Scottish Decorated.

Down to the close of Malcolm IV.'s reign the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland and England may be held to coincide alike in style and date. But with the first symptoms of transition, Scottish architecture begins to assume its peculiar characteristic features, marked by a return to the use of the semicircular arch, and a preference of segmental to angular details, employed not indiscriminately or at random, but on a fixed principle, along with the consistent use of the pointed arch, and of details peculiar to the later styles. The fact of such peculiarities is more easily demonstrated than its cause. The intimacy and interchange of races with England under Malcolm Canmore, and the complete assimilation of the Church of Scotland to that of England, abundantly account for the uniformity of the English and Scottish Romanesque Period. Perhaps we shall not overrate the effect of the profuse zeal and liberality of David I., and the fruits of his example, in assuming that the very numerous specimens of beautiful late Romanesque work, on every scale, from cathedrals and abbeys, to simple little village churches, built almost entirely in his reign, may not have been without their influence in stamping some of its most marked types with an enduring authority on the national mind : in all periods of its history characterized by a certain tenacity of adherence to a favourite idea. Be this, however, as it may, the retention of the use of the semicircular arch, and of forms of the same type, after their abandonment in the ecclesiastical architecture of England, becomes the source

of a peculiar style, which it has been too much the custom to regard as a mere Scottish provincialism little worthy of note. The worst fruit of this has been that ancient Scottish edifices have been remodelled in accordance with rules derived entirely from contemporary English models; and our architects have employed themselves for nearly half a century in deliberately obliterating the most characteristic features of native art.

The influence which stamped its character on the age of David I. was more ecclesiastical than civil. The intercourse with England, though not uninterrupted, continued during his reign and that of his imbecile successor sufficiently close and frequent to account for much similarity in the arts and manners of the two kingdoms; nor was it till the quarrel of William the Lion with Henry II., in 1172, his subsequent imprisonment, and the disputed claims of independence both of the Church and Crown, that the effectual alienation took place from which we may trace in part the divergence of Scottish from English models. The claim of dependence of the Scottish Church on the English archbishops was probably more effectual than any civil change, in severing the two Churches, with all that pertained to them. But before this lasting disruption took place, the First-pointed style had been fully developed, and was already expanding into the rudiments of the next transition. There were indeed works constructed, to some extent contemporaneously, in what may be correctly enough styled the Early English, or pure First-pointed style, of which Glasgow choir is an example; and others like the abbey of Aberbrothoc, essentially peculiar in many respects. To the latter the term *Scottish Geometric* may very fitly apply, reserving for the more elaborate style, ultimately developed after the War of Independence, the name of *Scottish Decorated*. The choir of Glasgow

Cathedral exhibits a series of extremely interesting examples of the pierced interspaces of the First-pointed window, in which the tracery of the Decorated Period originated ; while the nave of the same beautiful edifice, the work of Bishop William de Bondington, 1233-1258, is no less valuable as an example of the succeeding stage, where the grouped lancet windows have given place to a pointed arch divided by plain mullions and intersecting tracery into several lights, which again have in some cases been filled in with geometric figures, still very partially blended into a homogeneous or consistent whole. The circular arch, however, was never totally abandoned. In the chapter house of the abbey of Inchoch, for example, a beautiful little octagonal structure of two floors,—probably the work of Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, who rebuilt the choir in 1265,—the doorway is a semicircular arch, though with mouldings entirely of the later style ; and the chapter-house is lighted with small lancet windows, while the chamber above has corresponding apertures with semicircular heads. This preference of the semicircular arch, especially for doorways, was never afterwards laid aside. The great west entrance of the magnificent abbey of Aberbrothoc, founded by William the Lion in 1178, is an exceedingly rich and beautiful Scottish doorway of the period ; and the entire building furnishes an interesting example of the peculiarities of early Scottish Gothic, marking the historic epoch in which the native styles had their rise. In the south transept, for example, this is exhibited with great freedom and variety of character. Three tiers of arcades decorate the wall. The lowest consists of a series of equilateral pointed arches, each filled with a cusped trefoil head ; and ranging with and repeating the same mouldings is a small but finely proportioned semicircular headed doorway. The arrangement is exceedingly

happy, admitting of a greater breadth of doorway without breaking the line formed by the top of the arcade, or disturbing the uniformity of its series of engaged shafts. So far from seeming to be incongruous, it has a most harmonious effect to the eye. Above this is a second arcade, composed entirely of the lancet arch ; while the third, or highest tier, consists of a series of semicircular arches, forming the continuation of the triforium, so that the arrangement of the orders seems deliberately reversed. The pleasing effect of the whole can only be judged of when seen *in situ*.

Meanwhile the arts continued to progress, advancing towards more complete development of the style, then common in all its most essential features to nearly the whole of Europe. The Canons of the General Council of the Scottish Church, in 1242, preserve to us a remarkable ordinance for an annual national collection throughout the kingdom in aid of the building of Glasgow Cathedral, the present nave of which was then in progress. The translation of the relics of St. Margaret to the choir of Dunfermline Abbey, in 1250, marks the completion of that interesting contemporary work ; now unhappily replaced by a pseudo-choir in the style of the year 1820. Works manifestly of the same period, and more markedly Scottish, are still common in many districts : as in parts of Dunblane Cathedral, of Paisley Abbey, Brechin Cathedral, the east end, and other portions of the Cathedral of the Orkneys, etc. But a great revolution was at hand, which abruptly severed the already loosening cords that for a time had brought the ancient kingdoms and the Churches of Scotland and England into unwonted unity of purpose and feeling. In 1285, died the wise and good king, Alexander III., leaving his kingdom to all the miseries of a divided regency and a disputed succession. Margaret of Nor-

way, granddaughter of Alexander, an infant, at a foreign court, had been acknowledged the heir to the crown of Scotland very shortly before the sudden death of the king. Eric, king of Norway, alarmed at the dissensions among the Scottish regents, appealed to Edward of England to interpose; and thus commenced that series of memorable events in our national history, ending in the War of Independence, which placed the Bruce upon the throne, and finally excluded England from all influence on Scottish policy or art. Thenceforth to have "an English heart" was the Scottish name for treason; and the term deliberately applied even in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament to their southern neighbours is "our auld enemies of England."

The year 1306, in which Robert Bruce ascended the Scottish throne, almost exactly corresponds with the date (1307) assigned by Rickman for the close of the First-pointed or Early English style. But meanwhile a period of division, anarchy, and bloody war, had lasted for upwards of seventy years, during which the only arts that found encouragement were those of the armourer and military architect; nor was this state of things brought to a close twelve years after the coronation of the Bruce, when, in the year 1318, Pope John XXI., the obsequious tool of England, renewed the excommunication of Clement v. against the king and all his adherents. The very registers and chartularies are ominously silent; though here and there we find evidence that the old spirit of pious largess to the Church was only temporarily overborne by the stern necessities of the time. Bishops and abbots fought alongside of their fellow-countrymen in the foremost of the fight; or, like the good Abbot of Inchaffray, animated them to strike for liberty. The results of all this are abundantly apparent in the earliest succeeding examples of ecclesiastical architecture. They

partake of the mingled features of the First and Middle-pointed styles, and are in many cases characterized by a degree of plainness and meagre simplicity which render the application of the term *Decorated* very inappropriate to what contain, nevertheless, the rudiments of the style. The small side doorways and windows, the single aisle, and, above all, the plain vault, whether pointed or round, which are characteristic features of this period, all appear to be traceable to the nearly exclusive devotion to military architecture by the builders of that age. The Church was then *militant* in a peculiar sense, and found it difficult to reassume the fitter and more becoming garb of peace.

The plainest, as well as the most ornate Scottish ecclesiastical structures subsequent to this date, almost invariably exhibit some interesting evidence of the adherence to the use of the semicircular arch, and its cognate forms, not only in doors, windows, and arcades, but in the tracery of pointed windows. The Scots, in truth, did of necessity, and undesignedly, what modern artists have affirmed in their practice to be indispensable to the revival of art. They returned nearly to the rudiments of pointed architecture, and wrought out a system for themselves. From this date the rules of English ecclesiology only mislead the student of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture.

The choir of the singular church of the monastery of Carmelites or Whitefriars, at South Queensferry, founded by Dundas of Dundas in 1330, is an interesting specimen of the simple style of the period. The windows are few and small, divided by plain mullions, with no other tracery than their bending into lancet and interspaces in the head. The roof is a plain vault without groining, and with a singularly sombre look, owing to its entire elevation above all the windows except at the east

end: there being no aisles, and consequently no clerestory. The piscina, on the south side, is a recessed pointed arch, neatly moulded, but without cusping or other ornament; and the sedilia alongside of it, occupy a flat-arched recess, rounded off at the angles by a segmental curve, and divided into three spaces only by pendant mouldings or cusps, too imperfect now to show exactly what they may have been. All those features are characteristic chiefly of the extreme simplicity of the details. But here also the semicircular arch occurs. The credence in the east wall, on the north side of the altar, is recessed with mouldings nearly similar to the piscina, and like it with all the mouldings sunk within the recess, but with a rounded instead of a pointed arch. The priest's door, on the south side of the choir, is of the same form externally, though square-headed within; and a plain ambry occupies the north wall, directly opposite to the piscina. The eastern gable of the church is decorated externally in a novel manner with a niche and various heraldic devices, probably of later date, and coeval with the nave and south transept, which are curious specimens of the Perpendicular style. This interesting example of an important period of Scottish Ecclesiology is generally overlooked, though it lies within a mile of Dalmeny, the favourite example of the parochial church architecture of the twelfth century. Its very existence is probably unknown to thousands who annually pass the neighbouring ferry, as it lies beyond the route of travellers going to the north.

The little ruined church of the village of Temple, Mid-Lothian, is another simple but pleasing specimen of the transition from the First-pointed to the Scottish Decorated style. Two long, narrow lancet windows, now blocked up, probably indicate the original character of the whole structure. The large east window is divided

into three lights by mullions and intersecting tracery in the head, into the two largest openings of which plain circles are inserted. Still simpler is the arrangement in the smaller windows on the south side. They are divided into three lights, the mullions forming pointed heads at the two side lights; but instead of being continued so as to form intersecting tracery in the central space, a large circle is inserted between the pointed heads of the side lights, the lower segment of which finishes the head of the central light by its inverted curve. In this extremely simple combination may be traced the rudiments of the beautiful and richly decorated window in the south transept of Melrose Abbey. The same mode of filling up the head of the window with circles inserted in the intersecting tracery, may be seen on a large scale in the two great windows of the west front of Paisley Abbey, founded by Walter, the second of the family, Steward of Scotland, about 1163, for monks of the Cluniac order of reformed Benedictines. It likewise occurs in some of the original windows of Glasgow Cathedral; while the partial development of the same simple combinations into intricate and beautiful forms is most happily illustrated in the tracery of the south side of the nave, evidently an insertion of later date than the building, the north windows of which remain unaltered.

A decorated window in the west gable of Paisley Abbey, belonging to a period fully a century later than the lower portion of the same front, exhibits the preference for the circular instead of the ogee arch, which would have been combined with the other features of its tracery in most English examples of the style. The round-headed light is found to prevail alike in the plainest and the most ornate tracery, from the abandonment of the First-pointed style about the middle of the thirteenth century, till the final close of Scottish

medieval ecclesiology in the troubled reign of James v. The window figured here, from the original in the nave of the beautiful little collegiate church of Corstorphine, near Edinburgh, founded by Sir John Forrester in 1429, illustrates one of the simplest forms of the fifteenth century. But it is not in such minor features as tracery heads only that the rounded arch is employed. Throughout the whole period from the introduction of the Scottish geometric Gothic, in the reign of William the Lion, till the abandonment of medieval art, it continued to be used interchangeably with the pointed arch wherever

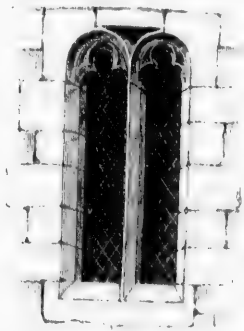


FIG. 100. Corstorphine Window.

convenience or taste suggested its adoption. In the triforium of Paisley Abbey one of the most remarkable examples occurs of its use in common with the later form of arch in the main features of the architectural design. Corresponding in breadth to each bay of the nave a large semicircular arch springs from short clustered columns, with moulded capitals, nearly resembling those of the plainer First-pointed pillars of the nave. The rich mouldings of the triforium arch are recessed to the same depth as the pointed arches below, and are again subdivided by a slender clustered column into two pointed and cusped cinquefoil arches, with a quatrefoil

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in the space between. A similar arrangement, though executed in a less ornate style, occurs in the nave of Dunkeld Cathedral, the work of Bishop Robert de Cardeny, 1406,¹ while the practical end in view may be observed in the nave of Holyrood Abbey, where a constructive semicircular arch is thrown from pillar to pillar at the same elevation, though there concealed by the triforium screen. The object in all of them obviously was to throw the principal weight upon the supporting columns of the centre aisle.

In doorways, clere-story windows, and tracery, the rounded arch is used wherever it suited the purpose of the architect, as in the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh, founded by Mary of Gueldres, the widow of James II., in 1462, and recklessly demolished in the progress of the North British Railway operations in 1848. In some respects this church was the finest example of late decorated work in Scotland. The entrance from the north transept to the chantry chapel was by a neat round-headed doorway, having a simple roll-and-triple-fillet moulding, with a broad hollow externally, running continuously round the arch, and with a hood-mould enriched with flowers in the hollow, springing from moulded corbels. Another small round-headed doorway, with a similarly decorated hood-moulding, but with engaged jam-shafts with moulded capitals and bases, latterly blocked up, had formed the entrance to the north transept; and a large one, of like construction, but with the rich mouldings in the jams carried round the head of the arch, without capitals, was placed within a groined porch formed in the angle of the south transept, and formed the principal entrance to the church. The decorations of this fine doorway consisted entirely of a series of filleted quarter-roll

¹ *Vita Episcoporum Dunkel.* p. 16.

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mouldings, continued round the recess of the doorway without any break. The most beautiful portion of the whole building was the richly decorated groined roof of the choir and apse, with its vaulting shafts springing from corbels sculptured into all manner of grotesque forms of imps, grinning masks, and caricatures of monks and friars, such as the one here figured, which projected nearly over the site of the old high altar, as if in purposed mockery of the rites on which it seemed to look down. Yet above these unseemly drolls rose the ribbed



FIG. 200.—Corbel, Trinity College Church.

groins of the beautiful roof, in its eastern portion especially, hardly to be surpassed in chaste design or elaborately varied details. In this point, however, it more nearly approximated to the usual arrangement of English roofs, being enriched with clustering ribs and bosses, and divided by transverse pointed arches into vaulted bays. The most striking peculiarity in the Scottish stone roof-work is the use of the single vault instead of the transverse groined vaulting, deemed essential elsewhere to ecclesiastical roofing. In its earliest and simplest forms, as in the choir at South Queensferry, it differs in no way from the contemporary baronial halls, as at

Borthwick or Crichton, from which it appears to have been directly derived. It is probable, however, that pictorial decoration was employed to relieve its otherwise bald surface; as was certainly the case in the baronial halls, traces of which still remain both at Borthwick and Craigmillar. It continued in use to the last in this very simple form, where little decoration was required, as in the muniment room of the church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh; while the choir of the same building presented one of the chastest and richest specimens of groined vaulting in Scotland.

But while retaining the single vaulted ceiling, the architect speedily learned to restore it to harmony with the decorated work below. The chapel of St. Mirinus, attached to the south side of Paisley Abbey, furnishes a beautiful specimen of a ribbed roof of this simple form, treated with great variety, and an ingenious adaptation to the variations in the walls from which it springs, which shows how familiar the architect was with this style of vaulting, so little known elsewhere. The choir of the collegiate church of Bothwell, founded by the grim Earl of Douglas in 1398, is another fine example, in which the richness of details abundantly proves that economy had no influence in the choice of this favourite form of ceiling. Another magnificent specimen of the richest style of Scottish decorated Gothic is Linculn Abbey, the work of the same grim Earl; but its graceful vaulting-shafts no longer sustain the branching ribs of stone. The choir at Seton is a plainer and less complete example. Only the eastern portion, including the apse, is decorated with moulded ribs, which spring from sculptured corbels, and meet in the ridge rib, where they are tied by equally fine bosses at the intersections.

The same convenience which suggested the use of the round instead of the more elevated pointed arch, also

led to the use of the depressed segmental arch, as in the chantry doorway at Bothwell ; or even to the two-centred flat arch with segmental curves, as in the great doorway of the beautiful screen and organ loft at Glasgow, and in a smaller doorway, the work of Abbot Crawford, *circa* 1460, now built into the east arch of the north aisle of



FIG. 201. Bothwell Chantry Door.

Holyrood Abbey. The segmental arch is most frequently employed in monumental recesses, as at St. Bridget's, Douglas, St. Kentigern's, Borthwick, and in the choir at Seton ; but other Scottish churches exhibit the semi-circular arch employed for the same purpose, as in the magnificent tomb of Margaret, Countess of Douglas, at Lincluden, and in the recesses under the great north and

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south windows of the transepts at Seton. One of the most beautiful Scottish examples of a late segmental arched doorway is that of the vestry or chantry chapel of Bothwell Church, Lanarkshire.

The window tracery of the same period, and accompanying the other features of the Scottish Decorated style already described, partakes of the like character and forms. The pointed window-head is subdivided by round-headed lights, and these again are filled in with



FIG. 392. — Dunkeld Cathedral.

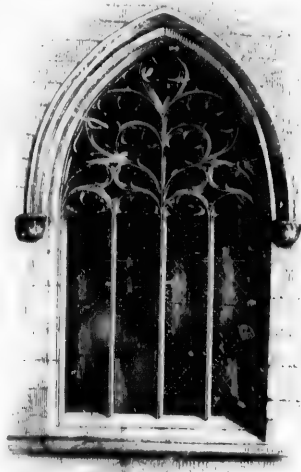


FIG. 393. — St. Michael's, Linlithgow.

foliated details. The result of this is exceedingly pleasing in the best examples, from the striking contrasts produced by the combination of pointed and circular forms, as well as from the flowing tracery frequently resulting from the union of the two, producing the pear-shaped light which predominates in Scottish Decorated tracery. This latter source of expression has led some writers to describe Scottish tracery as exhibiting an approximation to the French flamboyant style. No

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thing, however, can be more unwarranted. The ogee form is almost never designedly adopted, and even seems to be often purposely avoided, as in the Paisley window already cited, and in many similar examples. The window figured (Fig. 202), from the south aisle of the nave of Dunkeld Cathedral, is a very characteristic example of the mode of introducing the circular and semicircular forms, to modify the ogee tracery lines which so greatly predominate in the true French flamboyant. The multiplication of descriptions of minute details of tracery could, however, very partially serve to convey any distinct idea of the peculiar characteristics of Scottish window tracery. One of the windows on the south side of the nave of St. Michael's Church, Linlithgow (Fig. 203), may suffice as a characteristic illustration of the most familiar combinations of the style. The taste for rounded forms manifests itself in circular turret stair-cases, as at Linlithgow, and in that formerly attached to the beautiful south porch of St. Giles's, Edinburgh. It also appears in the vaulted roofs of belfry towers, where the converging ribs meet in a large open moulded circle: as at St. Giles's, Edinburgh, St. Michael's, Linlithgow, the collegiate churches of Seton and Torphichen, Dunfermline and Culross Abbeys, and till recently in the rich groining, springing from large half figures of angels bearing shields and scrolls, of the plain west tower of Glasgow Cathedral: removed for the purpose of restoring the west front to a uniformity which but poorly repays the idea of size and elevation formerly conveyed by the contrast between the central and west towers. One other remarkable Scottish specimen of ecclesiastical architecture must not be omitted to be noticed, as a singular instance of local peculiarities developed by the building materials of particular districts. The west front of the cathedral of St. Machar at Old Aberdeen, is curious as

showing the form which the style assumed when produced with the intractable granite of the country. Its erection dates about 1380-1400;¹ but instead of one large west window, divided by light monials and tracery into numerous lights, the breadth of front is filled in with a series of tall, narrow, lancet-like, but round-headed windows, with no other ornament than a cusped trefoil in the head. The towers on either side are equally simple and unornate, and are chiefly interesting as genuine specimens of granite Gothic, of which the modern town exhibits some more ornate, but greatly less satisfactory examples.

Another peculiar use of the semicircular arch is in clerestory windows, as in the choir of the remarkable little cathedral of Iona, built by Abbot Finlay, in the reign of Robert the Bruce, *i.e.*, prior to 1329;² in the nave of Sweetheart Abbey, erected according to Fordun in 1275; and in the large collegiate church of St. Michael at Linlithgow, perhaps added after the conflagration of the church mentioned by Fordun as occurring in 1424. The latter windows are divided by neat mullions into two lights, with trefoliated pointed heads. In this church may be also noted the occurrence of corby-stepped gables, a favourite feature of Scottish domestic architecture, occasionally transferred to ecclesiastical edifices. Interesting examples of the tall, narrow, round-headed window, occur in the private chapel of the neighbouring palace. Among the decorations of Lin-

¹ The choir of the cathedral, now utterly demolished, appears to have been the work of Bishop Alexander de Kyninmund, 1356-1380. An interesting indenture relating to its progress is printed in *Regist. Episcop. Aberdeen*, A.D. 1366, vol. ii. p. 59. The same collection contains two Papal bulls, granting indulgences to contributors towards the building of the nave, A.D. 1379, 1380. The succeeding bishop, Henry de Lichtoun, completed the nave, and built the west towers.

² *Vita Episcoporum Dunkeld*, p. 13.

lithgow Church should also be noted the shields attached to the columns, and wrought into the bosses of the roof. These are of frequent occurrence in Scottish churches. They abound in the beautiful ruin of Linluden Abbey ; and are employed in a peculiar manner on the capitals of pillars, where they have frequently an exceedingly bold effect ; as in the eastmost pillars of St. Giles's choir at Edinburgh (Fig. 204), and also in the Rothesay chapel, in the nave, where large shields, blazoned with royal and noble arms, project from the cardinal faces of the abaci, and overhang the lower mouldings of the capital.

No mention has been made of the celebrated collegiate

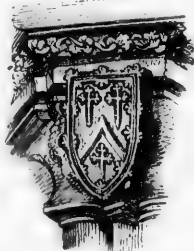


FIG. 204.—Bishop Kennedy's Arms, St. Giles's.

church of Roslin, founded by William St. Clair, Earl of Caithness, in 1466, because it has hitherto been usual to regard it as an altogether unique architectural monstrosity. It will be seen, however, from the preceding sketch of the characteristic peculiarities of the Scottish Decorated style, that many of the most remarkable features of Roslin Chapel are derived from the prevailing models of the period, though carried to an exuberant excess. The circular doorway and segmental porch, the dark vaulted roof, and much of the window tracery, are all common to the style. Even the singular arrangement of its retro-choir, with a clustered pillar terminating the vista of the centre aisle, is nearly a repetition of

that of the cathedral of St. Mungo at Glasgow. Various portions of other edifices will also be found to furnish examples of arrangement and details corresponding with those of Roslin, as in the doorway of the south porch and other features of St. Michael's, Linlithgow, and also in some parts of the beautiful ruined church of St. Bridget, Douglas. It is altogether a mistake to regard the singularly interesting church at Roslin, which even the critic enjoys while he condemns, as an exotic produced by foreign skill. Its counterparts will be more easily found in Scotland than in any other part of Europe. It is a curious fact, worthy of note in passing, that only twenty-two varieties of mason's marks occur throughout the whole building, indicating perhaps the number of skilled workmen to whose elaborate art we owe its intricate and endless variety of sculptured details. Among the latter are the remarkable series of medieval religious allegories: the seven acts of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and the dance of death; the latter including at least twenty different groups and scenes: as strange a story as was ever told in stone.

From some of the dates which have been given it will be perceived that the close of the Scottish Decorated period is as disconnected with that of England as is the development of its peculiar and most characteristic features. The large collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, the cathedral of the bishopric during the brief period of the existence of the see, exhibited, till its recent remodelling, a most interesting progressive series of examples of this style, from its simplest to its latest pure state. The destruction of so much of this by the misdirected zeal of modern beautifiers is a source of just regret to the Scottish ecclesiologist, as the dates of many of the additions were ascertainable, and afforded a safe guide in tracing out the gradual development of the

style. But enough still remains in the interior to be well worthy of study. The oldest portion is the north aisle of the choir, with its longitudinal vault, showing what was the style of the centre aisle of the nave previous to 1829, and also of the choir prior to the erection of the present beautiful clere-story about 1466. The date of the north aisle may not improbably be yet ascertained precisely; meanwhile, in the absence of such evidence, its mouldings and other details appear to justify the assignment of its erection immediately after the burning of the church and town by Edward III. in 1355. A charter of David II., dated A.D. 1359, confirms

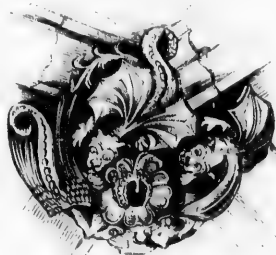


FIG. 295.—Boss, St. Eloi's Chapel.

under the great seal the endowment of the altar of St. Catherine there, with the upper lands of Merchiston. Like the neighbouring abbey, however, it was repeatedly spoiled, burned, repaired, and rebuilt. In the archives of the burgh a contract is still preserved, made in the year 1380 between the provost and certain masons, to vault over a part of the church: probably the simple but fine ribbed vault of the nave demolished in 1829. A small aisle of two bays, built between the north transept and a fine late Romanesque porch,—only defaced in the latter end of the last century, and finally demolished in our own day,—appeared from its style to

be of nearly the same date. The woodcut (Fig. 205) shows one of the sculptured bosses in the eastern bay, which appears, from the original painted glass formerly in its window, to have been the chapel of St. Eloi, the patron saint of the ancient corporation of Hammermen.

In 1385 the church was again burned by the army of Richard II.;¹ and in 1387, as appears by the agreement with "Johne Johne of Stone and Johne Skayer, masonys," still reserved among the city archives, the five chapels were added on the south side of the nave. One of those included the beautiful porch and doorway already described, which is required by the contract to be "in als gude maner als the durre standand in the west gavyll of ye foresaid kyrk."² From this, therefore, we may presume that the great west door—demolished, as appears from the burgh records, along with the whole west wall in 1561,—was also in the favourite Scottish form of the rounded arch. Various entries in the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, rendered at the Exchequer between the years 1390 and 1413, show that the cost of the restoration of the main building had been borne by Government, while the city was engaged in extending it by the addition of a second aisle on the south side of the nave; and to this period there can be no hesitation in assigning the present south aisle of the nave, closely corresponding in style to the five chapels built in fulfilment of the contract of 1387. The next addition was a second aisle added to the north side of the nave, forming two bays to the west of the ancient Romanesque porch defaced in 1760. This beautiful little fragment still remains, with its light and elegant clustered pillar adorned with large blazoned shields on a rich foliated capital, from which spring the ribs of its groined roof and the arches which connect it with the

¹ Wyntown, b. ix. c. vii.

² Maitland's *Hist. of Edin.* p. 270.



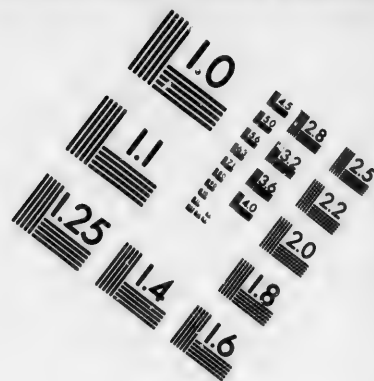
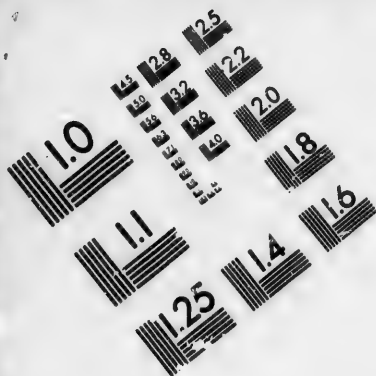
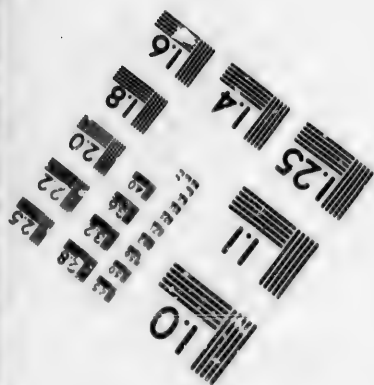
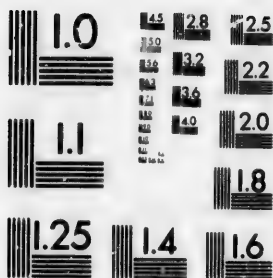


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adjoining aisle. The heraldic devices on the shields supply a clue to the date as well as to the singularly interesting associations connected with this portion of the church, from which I have given it the name of the Rothesay Chapel. They consist of the arms of Robert

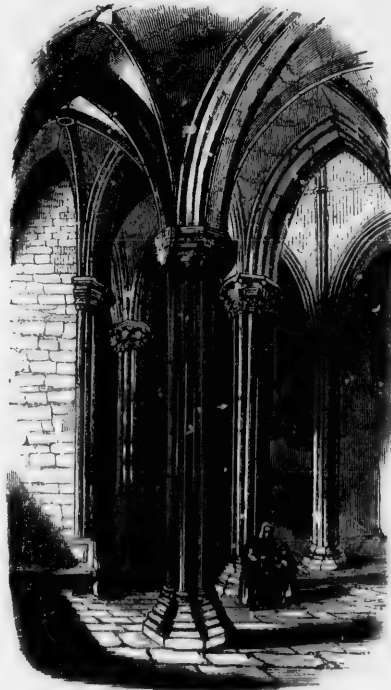


FIG. 206.—Rothesay Chapel, St. Giles's.

Duke of Albany, second son of Robert II., and of Archibald fourth Earl of Douglas, two Scottish nobles found acting in concert only on one other occasion, when David Duke of Rothesay was starved to death in the dungeon of Falkland Palace, A.D. 1401. It seems no improbable inference to assume that this chapel may

have been founded by them as an expiatory offering for that dark deed, and a chaplain appointed to say masses at its altar for their own and their victim's souls. A Parliament holden at Holyrood, 16th May 1402, enacted the solemn farce of examining them as to the causes of the prince's death, and a public remission was drawn up under the King's seal, declaring their innocence in terms which leave no doubt of their guilt.¹ It amply accords with the spirit of the age to find the two perpetrators of this ruthless murder, after having satisfied the formalities of an earthly tribunal, thus proceeding to purchase peace with heaven.

The next addition to the Collegiate Church was the Preston aisle, added to the south side of the choir by William Prestoun of Gortoun in 1454, agreeably to a charter setting forth the great labour and charges of his father, "for the gettyn of the arme-bane of Saint Gele: the quhilk bane he freely left to our moyr Kirk of Saint Gele of Edinburgh." The curious charter has been repeatedly printed.² The chaste and highly decorated groining of this portion of the church shows the progress of the style, which is still further illustrated by the beautiful clere-story and east bays of the choir, added about the year 1462,³ at which time the burgh records furnish evidence of considerable work being in progress. The latest addition to the metropolitan church, with the exception of the rebuilding of the beautiful crown tower in 1648, was the addition of a third aisle of two bays, in

¹ *Tytler*, vol. ii. p. 427. Hume of Godscroft's *House of Douglas*, p. 118.

² *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 375.

³ The armorial shields on the pillars include the Royal arms, those of France, of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Gueldres, who died in 1462, of the celebrated Bishop Kennedy, of Alexander Napier of Merchiston, comptroller of the household, and vice-admiral of Scotland,—Temp. James I. and II. (erroneously ascribed by me, in the *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 162, to the Countess of Lennox),—of Thomas de Cranston, *Scutifer Regis* to James II., etc.

1513, between the south transept and the porch erected on the south side of the nave in 1387. This formed a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Gabriel the Archangel. It was an example of great value to the Scottish ecclesiologist, as showing the adherence to the Decorated style, and its increasingly elaborate yet chaste adornment with richly-sculptured groining, at that late period, one hundred and thirty-six years after the date assigned by Rickman for its abandonment in England. Unhappily only a mutilated fragment of this most interesting addition to the building survived the operations of 1829. The favourite and beautiful Scottish crown towers must also be noted, still preserved in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, King's College, Aberdeen, and the Tolbooth of Glasgow, but once also surmounting the towers of St. Michael's, Linlithgow, the Collegiate Church of Haddington,—styled from its beauty the Lamp of the Lothians,—and also, as seems probable from its appearance, the lofty tower at Dundee. Nothing could more effectually demonstrate the freedom of our native architects from English influence than this remarkable disagreement in the chronology of the styles practised in the two kingdoms ; nor must it be forgot that the passion of the previous sovereign, James III., was for architecture, and that his favourite counsellor and companion was his architect, Cochrane, who fell a victim to the jealousy of the rude Scottish barons, excited by the marks of royal favour he received. In no country of Europe was architecture more zealously encouraged than in Scotland during his reign. Our Scottish poet Drummond somewhat quaintly sums up his character in terms more censorious than might have been expected from his own dalliance with the muses : “ He was much given to buildings and trimming up of chapels, halls, and gardens, as usually are the lovers of idleness ; and the rarest frames of churches and

palaces in Scotland were mostly raised about his time : an humour, which though it be allowable in men which have not much to do, yet it is harmful in princes."¹ There was still less need to go to foreign sources for instruction or for artistic models during the prosperous reign of James IV. : the favourer of learning and the arts ; the patron of our greatest national poets, Dunbar, Kennedy, Gawin Douglas, and others of the Scottish Makars ; of Chepman, the introducer of the Scottish printing-press ; and, indeed, the encourager of all the most liberal pursuits of a chivalrous age. Under his more popular rule, architecture was encouraged no less royally than in that of his father, and excited the Scottish nobles to emulation instead of jealousy.

Dunbar's noble poem of the *THRISILL AND THE ROIS* commemorates the affiancing of James IV. to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, in 1501 ; and it is curious to note how completely coincident with this is the manifestation of the influence of English models on the contemporary architecture of Scotland. The Perpendicular or Third-pointed English style appears in Scotland as a mere exotic, too temporarily tried to be properly regarded as a national style ; and, when used at all, employed contemporaneously with pure native Decorated work. The earliest, and, if I mistake not, the only entire example of a Third-pointed building in Scotland, is the parish church of Ladykirk, on the banks of the Tweed, built by James IV. in the year 1500. It is a somewhat stiff and formal structure externally, betraying the introduction of an unfamiliar style. In the interior, however, the features of older native models predominate, and the plain single vaulted roof is specially remarkable in connexion with other details of a style which was wont in the hands of the southern

¹ Drummond of Hawthornden's *History of the Jameses*, p. 61.

architect to expend its utmost exuberance on pendants, bosses, and fan-tracery of the groined roof. The magnificent perpendicular work of the eastern portions of Melrose Abbey, however, exhibits no such formality or plainness, though probably of nearly contemporary structure. The arms of Andrew Hunter, abbot of Melrose, prior to 1453, are cut on one of the buttresses of the Decorated nave. John Fraser, a later abbot, promoted from Melrose to the see of Ross in 1485, completed the cathedral at Fortrose; the pure and elaborate Decorated work of which admits of no unfavourable comparison with Melrose nave, and shows that we must look to a later date, and most probably to the following century, for the introduction of perpendicular details in the completion of its choir. In the valuable little fragment of the roof of the latter, fortunately still standing, where all else is gone, we once more see the influence of Scottish taste modifying the characteristics of the new style. Here too, instead of the fan-tracery and pendants of contemporary English roofs, is the Scottish single vault, enriched only with additional ribs and bosses, but preserving the favourite feature of carrying the vault completely above the side lights, and making it depend for illumination upon the great east window. The few other examples of Scottish perpendicular work which exist are scarcely sufficient to admit of any general deductions. The semi-hexagonal apse, both at Linlithgow and Stirling, show it modified at a later date by native peculiarities, derived from the favourite Decorated style, and in the latter—ascribed to Cardinal Beaton,—also exhibiting a singular introduction of the round headed lights of the earlier period, into the tracery of large perpendicular windows, as well as a peculiar adaptation of the Scottish vaulted roof. Both, however, must be regarded as late and somewhat debased ex-

amples. Along with those may also be noted the occasional use of the square-headed window, as in the chantry chapel of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh, and in the clere-story of St. Mary's at Leith, both destroyed in recent years. The singular church at South Queensferry furnishes a very curious example of some of the features of perpendicular Gothic applied in a novel fashion to an ecclesiastical edifice. The north wall appears to have been almost entirely occupied by the buildings of the monastery, so that it is destitute of ornament, and only pierced with a small pointed window of one light at the east end of the choir, near to which a round-headed door, now blocked up, has communicated with the attached buildings. There is no indication of a north transept having ever existed. Both the nave and south transept are entirely lighted with square-headed windows. That of the transept is divided into three lights, neatly cusped in the head. The west end of the nave is furnished with a window in the same style; while the door, which is small and plain, is at the west end of the south side. Two other square-headed windows of two lights fill up this side of the nave; and a large and heavy rectangular tower, measuring in greatest breadth, from north to south, across the length of the church, occupies the intersection of the transept with the nave and choir. Altogether the church is more curious than admirable as a late specimen of Scottish medieval art.

While this transient attempt at the naturalization of the English Tudor style of architecture in Scottish art has thus left some few enduring traces, it is worthy of note that its most characteristic feature, the four-centred arch, is nearly, if not quite unknown in Scotland, otherwise than as a modern exotic which figures in the favourite perpendicular *refaccimientos* of ecclesiastical façades,

wedded too often to the bald church or meeting-house with about as much congruity as the ill-assorted pair that figure in Hogarth's well-known wedding scene. Whatever might have resulted under more favourable circumstances, the new style was destined to no full development in Scotland. By a charter dated 1st August 1513, Walter Chepman, burgess of Edinburgh, memorable as the introducer of the printing-press to Scotland, founded and endowed an altar in the south transept, or "Holy Blood Aisle" of St. Giles's Church, "in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evan-

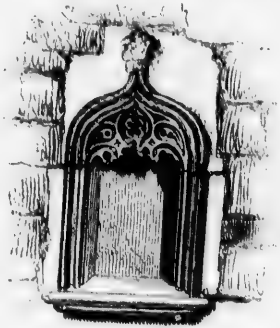


FIG. 207.—Ambry, Kennedy's Close.

gelist, and all saints." It was a period of national happiness and prosperity, in which learning and the arts met with the most ample encouragement. Only one brief month thereafter all this was at an end. James and the chief of his nobles lay dead on Flodden Field; Scotland was at the mercy of Henry VIII.; the Crown devolved to an infant; and faction, ignorance, and bigotry replaced all the advantages of the wise and beneficent rule of James IV. It is not by slow degrees, but abruptly, like the unfinished page of a mutilated chronicle, that the history of Scottish medieval art comes to an end. Yet the favourite forms and mouldings of

the Decorated Period lingered long after in the domestic architecture of the country. The ornamental ambries found in the castellated mansions, and even in the wealthier burghal dwellings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partake so much of the character of earlier ecclesiastical features, that they are frequently described as fonts, stoups, or piscine; and even when standing, as is their usual wont, by the side of the huge old-fashioned fireplace, they have been assumed to afford evidence that the domestic halls and kitchens of our

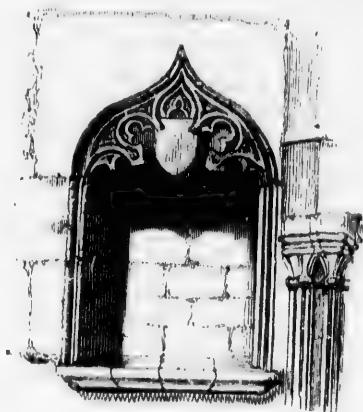


FIG. 208. - Ambry, Guise Palace.

ancestors were their chapels or baptisteries. Some few of those relics of obsolete tastes and manners still linger about the old closes of Edinburgh, though now rapidly disappearing before the ruthless strides of modern innovation. The woodcuts show the form of these ornamental ambries, one of which (Fig. 208) is from a singular antique mansion in the Old Town of Edinburgh, which bore the date 1557, and was occupied for a time as the residence of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. Another large chamber in the same building bore evidence of having been at one time used as a private oratory. In

this was a curious and still more highly decorated niche, which, however, exhibited somewhat of the debased excesses pertaining to that closing period in which the pure Gothic passed into the picturesque but lawless style of the Elizabethan age. Nevertheless its pierced stone-work served to illustrate the lingering adherence to the earlier national forms of window-tracery far on into the sixteenth century.

The characteristics of the later baronial and domestic architecture of Scotland lie beyond the compass of this work, though some of their peculiarities well merit the increased attention they are now receiving. The picturesqueness of the turret stairs, with their lintels



FIG. 206.—Monogram,
Blyth's Close.

decorated with monograms and armorial bearings, and inscribed with quaint legends and pious mottoes; the crow-stepped gables, finials, and dormer windows, and the singular overhanging carved "timber lands" of the old streets and closes of Edinburgh, are familiar to all. Some of their features might still be borrowed with advantage to our modern street architecture; but for the most part they are only valuable as the memorials of a period and state of society which has for ever passed away.

Before quitting the interesting subject of medieval architecture as developed in Scotland, some notice of the ancient and mysterious fraternity of Free Masons seems necessary in order to embrace one important source of that singular progressive unity of purpose traceable throughout the various stages of medieval ecclesiology. While Free Masonry was denounced in many countries of Europe, and was placed for a time under the ban of the law by its chief protector, Henry VI. of England, it appears to have met with no check or restraint in Scotland; and having been made the subject of special royal

favour by James I., it has ever since continued to be cherished here with greater zeal than in most other countries of Christendom. With its modern existence, however, apart from the practice of the art, we have here as little to do as with its extravagant claims to an antiquity nearly coeval with the art of building. We can trace the association of masons into guilds or corporations in some parts of Europe at the very dawn of medieval art. In Lombardy such a free guild of masons was established in the tenth century; and the craft is affirmed to have first obtained footing in England under the Saxon king, Athelstane, about the same period.¹ In Normandy we only discover the rise of such an association in the middle of the twelfth century; but the practice of secret combination obviously emanated from an ecclesiastical source. The whole system of guilds originated, in part at least, in the necessity of preserving and extending such speculative and practical knowledge as may now be safely committed to the press. Such a security for the safe keeping of traditional knowledge was specially required in regard to architecture, which depends so entirely on combined operations, and needed the assistance of most of the sciences carried to any perfection during that period. The whole decorative arts of the medieval era were subordinated to architecture, and it was essentially the handmaid of the Church. Ecclesiastics were at once its patrons and the chief practisers of its highest branches, so that the establishment of an order which embraced within its fellowship all the practical artificers as naturally sprung from the requirements of the Church as its various monastic fraternities. Hence, wherever any great ecclesiastical work was to be carried on, a guild of masons was organized, which no doubt

¹ "Antiquities of Free Masonry in England," J. O. Halliwell, Esq. *Archæol.* vol. xxviii. p. 444.

soon embraced practitioners of every requisite branch of art. Accordingly we still find the oldest masonic lodges at Dunfermline, Elgin, Melrose, Kilwinning, Arbroath, Glasgow, and other sites of remarkably early ecclesiastical edifices ; while generally some parish churches or other minor ecclesiastical edifices within the surrounding district betray traces of the same workmanship as the parent edifice. To the oneness of belief by which medieval Christendom was held together under its common head, and to the practical unity of the ecclesiastical corporation which constituted the Church, apart from the laity, may be traced the rise and gradual development of the successive styles of Gothic architecture. But to the operations of the masonic lodges within their several districts must be ascribed the local peculiarities and provincialisms which may be detected grouping around almost every great abbey or other remarkable ecclesiastical structure. The geographical and political isolation of Scotland, which gave to its Church a degree of independence unknown to most other countries of Papal Christendom ; as well as its very partial share in the great movements of medieval Europe, including the Crusades : all tended to give additional importance to those local influences which in other countries were more subordinated by external sources of change. To this source, therefore, we can hardly err in referring much of the peculiar character ascribable to Scottish Ecclesiology, which it is attempted here to reduce to some system.

The revived interest in the study of medieval architecture, has directed attention to the singular marks or symbols, apparently the works of the original builders, which are observable on nearly all medieval structures, and occur on others of much earlier periods. It is scarcely open to doubt that mason-marks are old as

the building of the Pyramids. They were discovered by Colonel Howard Vyse on forcing his way into the chambers of construction of the great pyramid, where no human being had been since the completion of its vast masonry. Similar marks have also been observed on Roman altars and on structures of an equally early era. The most, however, that can now be inferred from such is the invariable practice of each workman marking the stone he had cut, which remains in use in our own day to distinguish the work of different individuals. But much more than this appears to be deducible from the medieval mason-marks. "The fact that in these buildings it is only a certain number of the stones which bear symbols; that the marks found in different countries (although the variety is great) are in many cases identical, and in all have a singular accordance in character, seems to show that the men who employed them did so by system, and that the system, if not the same in England, Germany, and France, was closely analogous in one country to that of the others."¹ Little importance, however, can be attached to the recurrence of the same simple combinations of lines as distinctive signs. This would almost inevitably occur without any systematic plan; and indeed the simpler combinations are also found among early merchants' marks, and remain in use as such to the present time. But their universal employment by the medieval sculptor and architect connects them with the progress of the fine arts. The observation and collation of those marks have accordingly become objects of interest, as calculated to aid in the elucidation of the history of the medieval masonic guilds. It is not, however, sufficient merely to detect the occa

¹ "On certain marks discoverable on the stones of various buildings erected in the Middle Ages," by G. Goodwin, Esq.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 117, accompanied with plates of masons' marks.

sional identity of single mason-marks on different and widely distant buildings. The following include, I believe, the entire set on the choir of the Collegiate Church of Roslin. Of these the first, Δ , is only to be found on the altars and piscinæ, and the two adjoining ones around the doors. A comparison of these with the mason-marks of Gloucester Cathedral, Malmsbury Abbey Church, Furness Abbey, etc.,¹ shows that several of the symbols are common to all; and indeed the same may be said of those on Roman masonry, and on the still older monoliths of the Great Pyramid; so that such partial agreement points to no conclusion. Many of the subordinate lines added to regular figures are still recognised among the craft, as additions given to distinguish

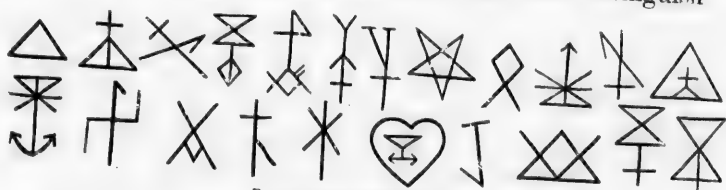


FIG. 210.—Mason-Marks, Roslin Choir.

the symbols of two masons, when the mark of a member admitted from another lodge was the same as that already borne by one of their own number. If, however, the entire series of marks on one building could be detected on another apparently of the same age, it would indicate with tolerable certainty that both were the work of the same masonic lodge. The united co-operation of a few zealous labourers may soon bring such a question to the test; and if sufficient care is taken to discriminate between the original work and the additions or alterations of subsequent builders, the collection of complete sets of mason-marks from ecclesiastical edifices may furnish a clue to the influence of masonic guilds on the develop

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. Plates VI. VII. IX. X.

ment of successive styles, or the prevalence of remarkable provincial peculiarities.

Since the publication of the first edition of this work, an interesting contribution, from the pen of the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers of Auldbar,¹ has put on record the masonic marks on some of the ancient ecclesiastical and domestic buildings within the same district, which furnished to him the subjects for illustrating the remarkable Scottish sculptured stones. In this he includes those from the interior of the Round Tower of Brechin, only two in number, but frequently repeated: from the Maison-Dieu, and the Cathedral tower and steeple at Brechin, and from Melglund Castle, built by Cardinal Beaton prior to 1546. The series of masons' marks thus given does not include those from any two buildings of the same style and period, which are specially required for tracing the influence of a school or guild of masons; but similar collections by observers in other districts will render Mr. Chalmers' contribution available for such comparisons. The mere recurrence of two or three masonic marks, repeated among others essentially different, can have no significance; as the same marks are still in use that have been employed since their introduction on works of the tenth century. It is only where the whole, or nearly the whole, series is found to recur, that the operations of the same school or lodge may be inferred, and a correspondence in style and ornamental details be looked for.

We obtain from Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn*, a curious account of the assembling of the needful band of artificers for the building of the collegiate church founded by William Saint Clair, Earl of Caithness:—"His adge creeping on him," says the genealogist, "to the end he might not seem altogether

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 33, Plates III. IV.

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unthankfull to God for the benefices he received from him, it came in his minde to build a house for God's service, of most curious worke ; the which that it might be done with greater glory and splendor, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and forraigne kingdomes, and caused dayly to be abundance of all kinde of workemen present : as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen, and quarriers, with others. The foundation of this rare worke he caused to be laid in the year of our Lord 1446 ; and to the end the worke might be the more rare : first he caused the draughts to be drawn upon Eastland boords, and made the carpenters to carve them according to the draughts thereon, and then gave them for patterns to the massons, that they might thereby cut the like in stone." . . . And it is added : " He rewarded the massones according to their degree."¹

From this curious notice it would seem that the Earl was himself the chief designer and architect, to whose ingenuity and inventive skill we owe the remarkable and unique example of masonic art which still remains at Roslin. Nor is this at all improbable. He was devoted to building, in an age in which it became one of the most favourite pastimes, and indeed engrossing pursuits of the Scottish kings. The Saint Clairs continued, according to some authorities, from this early date, to be recognised as the chiefs of the whole body of Scottish Free Masons, till in 1736, William St. Clair, Esq. of Rosslyn, resigned into the hands of the Scottish lodges the hereditary office of Grand Master, which, however, he continued to hold till his death. The evidence of the creation of this office in the person of the founder of the collegiate church of Roslin is defective, and the entire narrative of Father Hay must be received with caution, though professedly derived from original manuscripts.

¹ *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn*, p. 26.

Of the existence, however, of the hereditary office of Grand Master in the younger branch of the St. Clairs, which terminated on the death of William St. Clair of Rosslyn in 1778, there can be no question; and of the early connexion of the St. Clairs with the masonic fraternity, there seems equally little reason to doubt. On this account, therefore, the set of mason-marks given above from the remarkable memorial of their masonic skill which still exists at Roslin, possesses peculiar interest. While, however, we learn from Father Hay's curious notice that artificers were brought from foreign kingdoms, it does not necessarily follow that either the design or entire execution of this remarkable edifice is to be ascribed to a foreign guild. The same was done by Wykeham, in order to secure the perfect execution of his own magnificent designs, and in one or two of the mason-marks the additions may be traced which probably indicate the admission of a stranger using, *with a difference*, the symbol already belonging to some brother of the local guild. The small number of varieties, however, is remarkable, though it only embraces one class of the numerous artificers employed. The conclusions indicated by the traditions of the craft, and the direct evidence which their works supply, seem equally opposed to the idea too hastily adopted by some enthusiastic elucidators of medieval free masonry, that travelling lodges continued to perambulate Europe, devoting their artistic skill to supply the wants of the universal church: so that we might look for precisely the same details being repeated in contemporary works of the Norman architects of Sicily and of the Orkney Islands, or of Drontheim. We do indeed find in the eighth century the Pietish king sending for builders to rear a fitting edifice at Abernethy after the Roman manner; and, to the last, skilled artificers were doubtless sought far and

near, whenever any work of unusual importance was to be executed. But long before the sons of St. Margaret had commenced their magnificent foundations, corresponding demands for the aid of the skilled mason in every country of Christendom had removed all necessity for the maintenance of peripatetic missionary guilds. The order, however, flourished under this abundant patronage; nor did the localization of its guilds interrupt that mutual recognition of members of the privileged fraternity, by means of which Gothic architecture continued for upwards of four hundred years to be a living art, expanding and developing itself under ever varying but progressive forms of fitness and beauty.

The national peculiarities traceable in medieval architecture are among the most remarkable evidences of its vitality. Like a transplanted flower, it was modified everywhere by the soil and climate: the classic elements which are seen pervading that of Italy; the substantial yet ornate but impure grandeur of that of Spain; the compact, consistent, harmonious completeness of that of Germany; the rich but lawless exuberance of the French Flamboyant; the stately progression of the beautiful English Decorated into the profusely overlaid, yet still strictly defined Perpendicular; and the massive but comparatively plain and unchanging Scottish Decorated: all manifest peculiarities which pertain to the several nations with which they originated. "The essential modifications of architecture in each age and country must depend in part on the natural materials, localities, and in part on the artificial forms, social, civil, and religious, on the acquired habits and manners of the peculiar nation for which it labours; and the changes in these must produce corresponding variations in architecture."¹ The revivalist who seeks to reproduce the creations of

¹ Hope's *Historical Essay on Architecture*, p. 458.

the past in defiance of those manifest laws by which they existed in harmony and just adaptation to their geographical or social adjuncts, will find his self-imposed task not much less hopeless than to reanimate the fossil Mastodon or Dinotherium. But meanwhile the geologist, without seeking to re-animate these extinct vertebrata, learns much regarding the past from the investigation of their colossal remains; and so too may the archaeologist see into the living spirit of the medieval era by the earnest study of its creations, though he hopes better things of his own age than that it should expect perfection in those immature centuries, or seek for life in the beautiful sepulchres wherein they lie entombed.

The consecutive view given above of the progressive development of the various styles of ecclesiastical architecture, accompanied as it is with some few elements for the construction of a chronological series of examples, is sufficient, at least, to bear out the views advanced in reference to the independent character and individuality of Scottish Ecclesiology. It would be easy to multiply references to examples of the various peculiar features referred to; but what is far more wanted is the ascertainment of a larger number of well authenticated dates of existing works. Even of the cathedrals and great abbeys our knowledge is still very partial, notwithstanding the publication of so many of the Scottish chartularies, and the elucidation of the heraldic sculpture of ecclesiastical structures by the editing of medieval seals. Meanwhile, the following table may be accepted as some approximation to a comparative chronological arrangement of the Scottish styles. Those distinguished here as *First-pointed* and *Geometric* are to some extent synchronous, depending perhaps on the native or foreign education of the ecclesiastics by whom the works were prosecuted. We find William de Bondington of Glas-

gow, for example, in the last year of his episcopate, adopting the ritual and customs of Sarum as the constitution of his cathedral.¹ It need not therefore excite our surprise to find portions of the nave executed under his superintendence bearing an equally close affinity to the Sarum model, then in progress. Scottish First-pointed differs little from the Early English; whereas the Scottish Geometric has many characteristic peculiarities, and superseded the other at a very early date. Cylindrical and octagonal piers are by no means rare; and both pier-arches and windows are frequently composed simply of two or three plain chamfer orders. Square-edged hood-mouldings and string-courses are also common; and in the more ornamental piers the double-roll, and the roll and fillet mouldings almost invariably predominate. In the windows also—among the most expressive features of every style of Gothic architecture,—one harmonious feeling is observable throughout the endless varieties of tracery, giving to them a national aspect not less marked than the physiognomy of their builders. By means of such features, also, the traces of early international relations may be detected. I have been interested to observe the forms of Scottish tracery at the Hague, and in the contemporary church architecture of the Low Countries, with which Scotland maintained intimate relations for centuries. Slight as is the preceding sketch of this comprehensive subject, it may suffice to indicate some of the most characteristic examples of our native styles; but at Dunfermline, Dunblane, Corstorphine, or wherever the hand of the modern restorer has been, we find them displaced by perpendicular tracery, English mouldings and details, and the like evidences of irreverent ignorance.

¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. 166.

SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGY.

SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGY.			ENGLISH.			
REIGNS.	A.D.	STYLE.	EXAMPLES.	REIGNS.	A.D.	STYLE.
Kings of the Dalriads and Picts,	400—843	Gaelic and Scoto-Italian.	Oratory of Inchcolm. Girth House of Orphir.	Heptharchy.	457—800	
Kenneth MacAlpin to Malcolm Canmore, }	843—1357	Scoto-Albanian.	Round Tower, Abernethy. Round Tower, Brechin.	Egbert to Harold II. }	800—1066	Saxon.
Donald Bane,	1003			William I.	1066	
Duncan,	1064	Romanesque, 1070—1170; prevailed about 100 years.	Dunfermline Abbey—Nave. Inchcolm Abbey—part of the Dormitories. St. Rule's Chapel.	William II.	1067	Norman, or English
Edgar,	1067			Henry I.	1160	Romanesque, prevailed about 125 years.
Alexander I.	1106		Jedburgh Abbey.	Stephen.	1135	
David I.	1124		Kelso Abbey.	Henry II.	1154—1159	
Malcolm IV.	1153		Dalmeny Church.			
William the Lion,	1153—1170		Leuchars Church.			
William,	1170—1214	First-pointed, 1170—1242; prevailed about 70 years.	Glasgow Cathedral—Crypt and Choir. Dunblane Cathedral—Nave.	Richard I.	1189	Early English, prevailed about 100 years.
Alexander II.	1214		Kilwinning Abbey.	John.	1199	
Alexander III.	1249		St. Blane's, Bute—the Chancel.	Henry III.	1216—1272	
Margaret, Maid of Norway, John Balliol,	1285 1292—1296	Scottish Geometric, 1178—1285; prevailed about 100 years.	Aberbrothoc Abbey. Paisley Abbey—Nave.	Edward I.	1272	Decorated English, prevailed about 100 years.
Interregnum,	1296—1306		Kirkwall Cathedral—east end of Choir. Sweetheart Abbey, Kirkcubright.	Edward II.	1307	
				Edward III.	1327—1377	
Robert I.	1306					
David II.	1329	Scottish Decorated, 1340—1500; prevailed about 200 years.	Dunkeld Cathedral—Nave Aisles. Melrose Abbey—Nave.	Richard II.	1377	Perpendicular English, prevailed about 170 years.
Robert II.	1370		Fortrose Cathedral.	Henry IV.	1384	
Robert III.	1380		St. Monance Church, Fife.	Henry V.	1413	
Regency of Albany, . . .	1407		Bothwell Church.	Henry VI.	1422	
James I.	1424		Lincluden College.	Edward IV.	1461	
James II.	1436		St. Michael's, Lunithgow.	Edward V.	1483	
James III.	1460		Trinity College, Edinburgh.	Richard III.	1485	
James IV.	1488—1500			Henry VII.	1485	
				Henry VIII.	1509—1546	
James IV.	1500—1513	Perpendicular, 1500—1513.	Melrose Abbey—Chancel. Ladykirk.			
James V.	1513					

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the systematic eradication of every relic associated with the rites or dogmas of the old faith, carried on by the Scottish Reformers of the sixteenth century, ecclesiastical remains are still preserved in sufficient number to furnish out a much ampler list than the limits of this work can embrace. The recumbent effigy, for example, is to be met with in many districts of Scotland, sometimes mutilated and defaced, but not unfrequently still exhibiting evidences of refined taste and delicacy of manipulation pertaining to the best epochs of medieval art. Perhaps no work of this period is more characteristic of the change from the age of the tumulus builders than the recumbent effigy of the Christian knight. It is one of the most significant memorials of the mild influences of a purer faith on the arts and sepulchral rites of the race. The armour and weapons of war are indeed still there, but the sword is in its sheath; the position is that of repose; and not unfrequently the hands are clasped in the attitude of devotion: the symbol of prayer. The majority of such medieval monuments belong to the fifteenth century, and some of those which occur in Iona and the Hebrides are altogether peculiar in costume and style of art. There is little, however, to distinguish the greater number of the Scottish from English recumbent effigies, unless one

peculiarity be worth noting, seemingly characteristic of a national luxuriousness which is little applicable to the rude barons of the Scottish middle ages. The crested tilting helmet, which is the most frequent pillow of the recumbent English knight, is of rare occurrence in Scotland, being more generally replaced by a richly sculptured cushion. It is needless, however, to multiply illustrations of a point involving no more than a conventional formula of art.¹ Sepulchral brasses, though now almost unknown in Scotland, may once have been little less abundant than the recumbent effigy. The *Oxford Manual* mentions only one, that of the Stuarts of Minto, in the nave of Glasgow Cathedral, bearing the date 1605. To this solitary example, however, several interesting additions can be made. The "restorations" of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh in 1829, compassed, among other lamentable defacements, the destruction of the monument of "The Good Regent," including the brass engraved with the figures of Justice and Faith, and the epitaph from the pen of George Buchanan.² The brass has fortunately been rescued, and is preserved in the possession of the lineal descendants of the Regent, James Earl of Moray. Another brass of the same period, and with an elaborate inscription by the same illustrious scholar, still occupies its original place on the north wall of the ruined chancel of the old church of Ormiston, East Lothian. It is dedicated to the memory of Alexander Cockburn, the pupil and friend of John Knox, who died in 1564, and bears the arms of Cockburn and of his mother, Dame Alison

¹ A pretty large list of Scottish monumental effigies might still be made. Descriptions of monuments furnished to me by the Rev. J. H. Hughes, and George Seton, Esq., include nearly sixty, many of which contain two recumbent figures, and to these considerable additions might be made, while many more empty niches suffice to show where others once have lain.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, vol. ii. p. 169.

Sandilands.¹ A charter granted by the city of Edinburgh to William Preston of Gortoun, in 1454, in acknowledgment of his father's invaluable gift of "the arme bane of Saint Gele," preserves the record of at least one other brass that once adorned the same ancient church, though long since gone, with so many more of its interesting features. It is described as "a plate of brase, with a writ speciand the bringing of that relik be him in Scotland, with his armis." A small mural brass still remains in part of the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, known as Drum's Aisle, blazoned with two shields of arms: the one bearing the three banded bunches of holly leaves for Irvine, and the other three pales for Keith. It surmounts the recumbent effigy of Alexander Irvine, third of the ancient family of Drum, who fell at the battle of Harlaw in the year 1411, and of his wife Elizabeth Keith, daughter of the Lord Robert Keith. The knight is in full armour, but crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and his feet resting on a lion; while the lady's feet are supported by a dog. The monument has obviously been executed during their lifetimes, from the blanks still remaining on the brass, which tell, amid all the pomp of these anticipatory sepulchral honours, that no pious hand was found to grave the few simple additions requisite to have made of the dumb tablet a true memorial of the dead. The imperfect inscriptions are,—

Hic sub ista sepultura jacet honorabilis et famosus miles dns Alexander de Erbyn Secund qd dns de Droum de Achyndor et Forglen qui obit . . . die mens . . . anno dni MCCCC . . .

Hic etiam jacet nobilis dna dna Elizabeth Keth filia quan dni Roberti de Keth militis Marescalli Scocie uxoris dei dni dni . Alexander de Erbyn qua obit . . . die mens . . . Anno dni MCCCC . . .

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 226.

Principal Gordon, of the Scots College, Paris, describes in his *Remarks on a Journey to the Orkney Islands*, made in 1781, the monument of Bishop Tulloch, the brass of which—"a plate of copper full length of the grave,"—was carried off by a party of Cromwell's soldiers.¹ More recent plunderers have removed, within the last thirty years, a brass which had escaped the hands of previous devastators of the monastery of Incheolm, in the Firth of Forth. Nor is it altogether impossible that others may even now remain safe under the protection of more modern flooring, or superincumbent debris. The floor of St. Mary's Church at Leith was removed in the course of extensive alterations effected on it in 1848, and was found to cover the original paving with inscriptions and armorial shields of early date. On the repair and reseating of Whitekirk parish church, East-Lothian, a few years since, a large stone slab, which now lies in the adjoining churchyard, was removed from its original site in the chancel, and disclosed a remarkably fine matrix of what appears to have been the full-sized figure of an ecclesiastic, with canopy and surrounding inscription. Similar matrices are even now by no means rare. One of large size lies in the barn-yard of the Abbey Farm, in the vicinity of the ruins of North Berwick Abbey. Another has been recently exposed within the area of the nave of Seton Church, East Lothian. Others are to be seen at Aberbrothoc, Dunfermline, and Dunblane: the last exhibiting traces of a large ornamental cross. One of unusual dimensions, which lies in the chancel of the cathedral of Iona, is traditionally assigned to Macleod of Macleod. The representation of the full-length figure of a knight in armour may still be traced, with his sword by his side, and his feet resting on some animal. It has been surrounded with an inscription on an ornamental

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i. p. 260.

border, and tradition adds, was completed by a plate, not of brass but of silver.¹

Incised slabs are still more common. Some of those at Iona especially are characterized by peculiar beauty and great variety of design. Nearly the whole of the north and south aisles of the nave of Holyrood Abbey are also still paved with incised slabs, including those of various ecclesiastics, engraved with floriated or Calvary cross, and generally with the paten and chalice on each side, or with the chalice only, resting on the long limb of the cross. At Roslin there is a curious example of an incised monumental slab, representing a knight in full armour. In the church of Kinkill, Aberdeenshire, Sir Robert Scrimgeour, high constable of Dundee, who fell at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, is similarly portrayed at full length; and in the south aisle of the church of Foveran, in the same county, two knights in complete armour are represented on one slab, under an ornamental canopy. Examples also occur at Dalmally and other ancient ecclesiastical sites in Argyleshire and the Western Islands; but those are sufficient to illustrate this class of medieval sepulchral memorials.

Stone coffins are no less abundant, but also rarely marked by any peculiar features: the later Scottish sepulchral rites being no doubt for the most part such as were common to medieval Europe. One of the most interesting discoveries of this class was made during recent repairs of the nave of Dunfermline Abbey. In the centre of the nave, towards its east end, a stone coffin of the form and dimensions of those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was found under the paving. On removing the lid, it disclosed a singular leathern shroud, which remained in good preservation, although the body it was intended to protect had long

¹ Graham's *Monuments of Iona*, p. 19, Plate XXXIII.

mouldered into dust. The prepared leathern skin is double, and has been wrapped entirely round the body, like the bandages of a mummy; it is laced across the breast, and stitched with a strong leathern thong entirely up the back from the neck to the heels, and along the soles of the feet. It has been removed to the Dunfermline Museum, where it is preserved suspended in a glass case, in some respects a more eloquent *memento mori* than the Egyptian's "imperishable type of evanescence:" a shroud which has escaped the mortality of the corpse within its folds. The coffin has been assigned by local antiquaries as that of Edward, the eldest son of Malcolm Canmore; but there is no evidence to justify any such conclusion. The high-peaked ridge of the coffin lid would rather suggest a date of fully a century later.

Along with those ecclesiastical and sepulchral relics may also be noted the peculiarities of Scottish church-flooring. So far as I am aware, encaustic tiles of figured patterns appear to be unknown in Scotland, though their absence cannot be held as evidence that the art was never practised. So entirely are the floors of every church and abbey altered or destroyed, that it is impossible to speculate on their original character. Glazed tiles of various colours have, however, been occasionally found. During the recent repair of the choir of Kirkwall Cathedral monochromatic orange and purple floor-tiles were discovered; and on the demolition of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh in 1848, similar tiles of various colours were dug up from beneath the modern floor of the chantry chapel. But the most remarkable relics of this class are raised floor-tiles, some interesting examples of which, found in the ruins of North Berwick Abbey, are figured in the *Carte Monialium de Northberwic*. They represent, in high

relief, lions, leopards, ornamental scrolls, and various geometric and fancy patterns. Others of the same class, but of different designs, have also been dug up in the ruined choir of the collegiate church at Haddington. The relief in some of those amounts to fully the fifth of an inch, and seems ill suited for the purposes of paving; but the worn surfaces of several of the North Berwick specimens, now in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, leave no room to doubt that they had been trod by many feet ere they were buried in the wreck of the ruined abbey.

Charters and missals, with seals, matrices, and ecclesiastical heraldry, might all fitly enough be included under

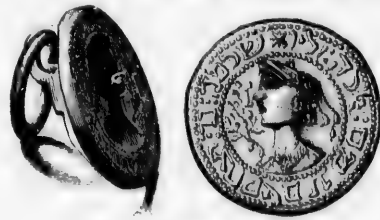


FIG. 211.—Hebrew Bronze Matrix.

the title of Scottish ecclesiastical relics; though the civilian also claimed his share in most of the objects enumerated. The seals and matrices have already been incidentally illustrated in both relations; but a singular bronze matrix, found a few years since on ploughing on the eastern slope of Arthur's Seat, merits special notice from its peculiar characteristics. It bears as its device a turbaned head, as shown here (Fig. 211), with the Hebrew legend: *שלמה בר יצחק*, *i.e.*, SOLOMON BAR ISAAC. By some it has been supposed to be a talisman or magical signet; but various other medieval matrices, inscribed in Hebrew characters, are known.

Among genuine ecclesiastical relics none appear to have been held in higher esteem from the earliest times

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than the rude handbells, employed in the church service by the first Christian missionaries ; and frequently provided with costly coverings, or elaborately decorated shrines, by the piety and superstition of later ages. One of the most interesting is the beautiful bell-shrine and bell discovered about the year 1814 on the demolition of a ruined wall on Torrebhlaurn farm, in the parish of Kilmichael-Glassrie, Argyleshire, and now among the most valued treasures in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries.¹ This, like nearly every native relic, has been pronounced to be *decidedly Norwegian* ;² and with a perversity of logic, which multiplies the evil tenfold, the Rev. J. S. Howson, on comparing it with the numerous sculptured crosses of the district, so faithfully described by him in the *Cambridge Camden Society's Transactions*, and finding that "the scroll-work on the bell-case, and the figure of our Saviour, are closely similar to the corresponding representations on the Argyleshire crosses," jumps to the conclusion that they also must needs be Scandinavian.³ The very opposite conclusion would have seemed unavoidable, were it not that this idea of the supremacy of Scandinavian art in Scotland long superseded reasoning, and maintained its ground in defiance of evidence. History leaves no room to doubt that the Scandinavian invaders devastated and destroyed many native works, and greatly retarded the full development of the arts of civilisation of the Scottish Christian era. Scottish antiquaries certainly displayed a truly forgiving spirit in crediting them with the invention of what little escaped their sacrilegious ravages ; but happily in the interval since the publication of the first edition of this work, the study both of native and Northern antiquities has been carried out with such intelligent

¹ Vide Plate XXI.² Dr. Hibbert, *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 119.³ *Transactions Cambridge Camden Society*, vol. i. p. 177.

zeal that it is no longer necessary to repeat the arguments then produced on this subject.

It is not difficult to show that bells were in use in Scotland upwards of four centuries before the conversion of St. Olaf and his Norwegian jarls. They were indeed introduced by the first Christian missionaries, and summoned the brethren of Iona to prayer, while yet the *gloriosum cœnobium* of the sacred isle was only a few wattled huts. The reference of Adamnan to St. Columba's bell, when he had notice that King Aidan



FIG. 212.—Bell of St. Columba.

was going forth to battle, sufficiently indicates its use :
 "Sanctus subito ad suum dicit ministratorem cloccam
 pulsa. Cujus sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam, ipso
 sancto præsule præcunte, ocius currunt."¹ We have as
 little reason for supposing that the frail currach of St.
 Columba was freighted with a ponderous church bell, as
 that the first monastery of Iona was distinguished by a
 lofty belfry tower. But the little hand-bell of the primi-
 tive bishop would abundantly suffice to summon together

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 33.

the band of pioneers in the wilderness of Iona. If the annexed engraving do not represent the identical bell of the Scottish apostle, it is one consecrated to him, and sufficiently primitive in its character to have called together the family of Iona to their orisons, beneath the osier groins of the first cathedral of the isles. It is the bell of St. Columbkil, from the Dungannon collection. The original, which measures eleven and a quarter inches in height, was preserved for many generations in the family of the M'Gurks, from whose ancestors the parish of Termon-Maguirk, in the county of Tyrone, takes its name.¹ This bell was held by the native Irish even of the present generation in peculiar veneration, and though usually called by them the *Clog na Cholumchille*, or bell of St. Columbkil, it also bore the name of *Ἰα διαβολῆς*, or God's Vengeance: alluding to the curse implicitly believed to fall on any who perjure themselves by swearing falsely on it. This bell was used until very lately, throughout the county of Tyrone, in cases of solemn asseveration; but much of its essential virtue must have exhaled on its transference to the repositories of the antiquary. The Kilmichael-Glassrie bell, now in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, appears to have closely corresponded to the simple iron *clag* figured above. Within the beautiful brass shrine engraved on Plate XXI. is a rude iron bell, so greatly corroded that its original form can only be imperfectly traced; yet this, and not the shrine, was obviously the chief object of veneration, and may indeed be assumed with much probability to be some centuries older than the ornamental case in which it is preserved. The name of *Δια Διογῆλτος*, or God's Vengeance, specially appropriated to the bell of St. Columba,

¹ The word *Termon* implies church lands, and is also used in the sense of a sanctuary.

is applicable to all the relics of this class, which we shall find were among the most venerated objects of the primitive Celtic church.

It remains to be seen if any such ecclesiastical implements or symbols of office ever pertained to the Scandinavian Church, though they may have been in general use throughout the earlier Christian countries of Europe centuries before Scandinavia abandoned the creed of Odin. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Welsh Itinerary, refers to the universal veneration with which these portable bells were regarded in Scotland and Ireland, as well as in Wales, remarking that men were more afraid of swearing falsely by them than by the Gospels, because of some hidden and miraculous power with which they were gifted, as well as for fear of the saint to whom they pertained. This is confirmed by the number of such relics preserved in Scotland and Ireland, and even now retaining their traditional sanctity little less tenaciously in the former than the latter country. One of the most remarkable, though not the earliest of those in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is the inscribed *Cloġ beannuighite*, or Blessed Bell, called by Dr. Petrie the Bell of Armagh. The inscription upon it :—*✠ Oíort ar Chumascach in ailello*, reads : *Oíort ar Chumascach MacAilello*, i.e., a prayer for Chumascach MacAilello : the same, it is believed, who was Archbishop of Armagh in 1065. Both the rounded shape and the inscription on the *Cloġ beannuighite*, are evidence of its being of a later date than the simpler quadrangular bells. The latter form of hand-bell is represented on some of the Irish stone crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries, and on the oldest seals of the see of Glasgow ; and is also introduced in a curious group sculptured on the pediment of a little oratory called the Priest's Church, at Glendalough, which Dr. Petrie

ascribes to the middle of the eighth century.¹ In the Annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, the bell is specified among the gifts bestowed on Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, when St. Patrick conferred on him the episcopal dignity, and may therefore suffice to account for its possession by St. Columba as one of the most essential insignia of the pastoral office :—"Patrick conferred the degree of bishop upon him, so that he was the first bishop that was ordained among the Lagenians ; and Patrick gave a box to Fiacc, containing a bell, and a menstir, and a crozier, and a poolire ; and he left seven of his people with him."²

With such evidence of the use of the consecrated bell as one of the most essential ecclesiastical implements of the first missionary bishops, we can be at no loss to account for the origin of the beautiful relie found in the parish of Kilmichael-Glassrie, Argyleshire. The accompanying accurate engraving (Plate XXI.) renders any minute description unnecessary. It is an ornamental square case or shrine, probably of the tenth century, attached to the bottom of which is a thin plate of brass pierced with a circular hole in the centre. Inside this case, but entirely detached from it, is the rude and greatly corroded iron bell, which is no doubt of an earlier date. When first discovered, it appeared to have been carefully wrapped in a piece of woollen cloth then almost entirely decayed. The hole in the lower plate is large enough to admit of the insertion of the finger, and was perhaps designed to allow of the bell being touched as a consecrated and miraculously gifted relie, without removing it from its case. Dr. Petrie remarks on the quadrangular form of the Irish portable bells as an

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 8vo, pp. 247, 251.

² *Menstir*, a reliquary ; *poolire*, a leathern bookcase or satchel. *Vide* Dr. Petrie's illustrations, *ibid.* pp. 336-342.

evidence of their great antiquity, and refers to the inscribed one in the Dublin Museum as a remarkable example of the transition to the later circular form in the ninth century.¹

At a very recent date ancient consecrated bells appear to have been preserved in Scotland with superstitious reverence; and evidence of the most satisfactory kind proves the existence of others dedicated to primitive Scottish saints, some of which are still in the custody of their hereditary custodiers. The accompanying en-



FIG. 213.—Perthshire Bell.

graving represents one example of the most primitive form, four and a quarter inches in height, obtained in Perthshire, and preserved along with other valuable Scottish relics in the collection of the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., but unfortunately no clue exists to its original dedication or early history. Like most other relics of this class, it is fashioned out of a single plate of sheet-iron; and the ring which forms the handle projects internally, so as to form a loop, from which the clapper was suspended. Another bell of somewhat

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 8vo, p. 252.

larger dimensions, and equally rude workmanship, found at Hume Castle, near Kelso, is preserved in the collection of the Tweedside Antiquarian Society there; but this example, also, is no longer hallowed by the associations which give to some similar native relics so peculiar an interest.

Representations of these venerated relics of the Celtic church have been introduced on various early Scottish seals; and the bell of St. Kentigern, the great apostle of Strathclyde, after forming for centuries a prominent feature in the armorial bearings of the archiepiscopal see, still figures in the modern city's arms. It has even been thought that the original bell escaped the indiscriminate destruction of sacred relics at the Reformation, from an entry in the accounts of the treasurer of Glasgow for the year 1578, of a charge of two shillings "for ane tong to Sanct Mungowe's bell."¹ But this was no doubt a larger and more practical instrument than the original bell of the western saint, figured on the ancient civic seal, used in the reign of Robert I., as well as on the contemporary chapter seal; and described by Father Innes as on the burgh seal attached to a charter, now lost, of the year 1293.² On the former of those it is very distinctly shown, corresponding to the earliest square portable bells with looped handles; and various references both in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* and in the *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine, Glasguensis*, MDXLIX., to the *Campana Beati Kentegerni*, abundantly confirm the evidence of its sanctity. It is also repeatedly referred to in the Aberdeen Breviary, as in the anthem appointed for the day of the apostle of Strathclyde:

Visitat alma pii vite septenta loca Petri
Presul campana cui servit in ethere sacra.

¹ *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, Maitland Club, p. 104.

² *Regis. Epis. Glasguensis*, Plates II. and V.

An author of the seventeenth century affirms that the venerable relic survived even in the reign of Charles I.;¹ nor is there anything inconceivable in this, when so many others of the same kind are still preserved. The woodcut (Fig. 214) represents another of those Celtic relics, which, though preserved along with other memorials of Ireland's saints, in the valuable collection of the late Mr. Bell of Dungannon, pertains to one of the primitive apostles of his own native land, the celebrated Scottish missionary bishop, St. Ninian or St. Ringan. The *Clog-rinny*, or Bell of St. Ninian, of malleable iron, is coated, as



FIG. 214.—St. Ninian's Bell.

usual, with bronze, and measures only six and a half inches in height. It is rude enough to have been contemporary with the Candida Casa of Whithorn in Galloway, and to have summoned to the preaching of the missionary bishop the first of the tribes of North Britain converted to the worship of the true God.

The honour attached to the custody of the most sacred relics occasioned in various cases the creation of special offices, with emoluments and lands pertaining to their

¹ *Davidis Camerarii de Scotorum*, etc., Paris, 1631. Note in Liber Coll. Nost. Dom. Glasguensis.

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holders ; and the transference of these to lay impropriators on the overthrow of the ancient ecclesiastical system, has led to the preservation of some few of the relics of primitive Scottish saints, even to our own day. But for the rude shock of civil war which, in the last century, involved so many of our oldest nobility in the ruined fortunes of the fated Stuart race, more of them might have been still in existence. Both the *Sacra Campana Sancti Kessogii*, and the *Sacra Campana Sancti Lolani*, were included among the feudal investitures of the earldom of Perth : a sufficiently significant proof of the value ascribed to them. They are referred to so recently as the year 1675.¹ The *Clagan*, or Little Bell of St. Barry, a favourite old Celtic saint who gives name to the district of Argyleshire where he is said to have ministered, remained till the close of last century in the possession of the principal heritor of Kilberry parish. "The bell of St. Barry's Chapel," says the compiler of the Old Account of the Parish of South Knapdale, "is still in preservation at Kilberry Castle, and has been long prostituted to the ignoble purpose of summoning the servants of that family to their meals. It is inscribed with the saint's name in the Latin language and Saxon character, but unfortunately without date."² I learn on inquiry, from J. Campbell, Esq., the present proprietor of Kilberry Castle, that the ancient bell no longer exists. In the letter with which he has favoured me, he remarks,—“I have heard my father say that it fell down and cracked. The metal was recast into another bell, which is here now. I have heard him mention the inscription, but do not believe there was any copy of it kept.”

More minute information relative to the preservation

¹ *Inquis. at Capit. Dom. Regis. Retornatum Perth.*, nn. 708, 880.

² *Sinclair's Statist. Acc.* vol. xix. p. 318.

of another of the ancient Scottish saints' bells, as the evidence of hereditary right to the privileges attached to its custodier, is supplied by "The Airlie Papers," printed in the *Spalding Miscellany*. One of these is a formal resignation of the Bell of St. Meddan, by Michael David, its hereditary curator, to Sir John Ogilvy; and the transference of it by him to his wife Margaret, Countess of Moray, of date 27th June 1447. It is followed by "the instrument of sessyn of the bell," dated twenty-one days later, from which we discover the substantial advantages pertaining to the custody of this relic. The Countess was thereby put in possession of a house or toft near the church of Luntrethin, which pertained to the bell, of which it formed both the title and evidence of tenure. "The instrument of sessyn" further describes the formal process of investiture, the Countess having been shut into the house by herself, after receiving the feudal symbols of resignation of the property by the delivery to her of earth and stone.¹

The Holy Bell of St. Rowan, in like manner, still remains in the keeping of the family of the Dewars of Monivaird, as the evidence and guarantee of certain hereditary chartered rights;² and though no such substantial benefits now pertain to the Guthrie Bell, it is preserved by the Guthries of Guthrie among their valued heirlooms. This beautiful inscribed bell is shown on Plate XXII., engraved from a careful drawing of the original. According to the traditions of the family it pertained to the church of Guthrie, in Forfarshire, a prebend of the cathedral of Brechin; and shows by the costly decorations it has received at different periods, the great veneration that was once attached to it. It measures only eight and a half inches high, and has consisted

¹ Airlie Papers, *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. iv. pp. 117, 118.

² *Archæol. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 75.

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PLATE XXII



THE GUTHRIE BELL

originally of a mere iron *clagan* of the rudest simplicity. But this, after suffering dilapidation from age and violence, has been richly decorated at more than one subsequent period, with bronze, silver-work, niello, and gilding. The inscription is inlaid in niello, on a broad silver plate attached to the lower edge of the front of the bell, in characters of the fourteen century : *johannes alexandri me fieri fecit*. The figure in the centre representing our Saviour on the cross, and wearing a cap closely resembling a Scottish bonnet, in place of the crown of thorns, is of bronze, gilt, and obviously the work of an earlier period than the surrounding figures, including the first person of the Trinity, represented as the Ancient of days. These are wrought in silver, and finished with the graver, as is also a larger figure of a bishop on the left side. The figure represented in the accompanying woodcut, the full size of the original, occupies the right side of the bell, where the rivets still remaining show that a second figure had accompanied it. This corresponds in material and archaic execution to that of our Saviour ; and represents an ecclesiastic in a plain sleeveless gown, holding a book in his left hand ; but owing to its greater age and exposed position the features are nearly obliterated.¹



FIG. 315.—Figure on the Guthrie Bell.

The Aberdeen Breviary commemorates a Scottish bell, presented to St. Ternan, the apostle of the Picts, by Pope Gregory the Great, which was preserved, with other relics of the saint, at the church erected over his tomb at Banchory, Aberdeenshire ; and legal deeds of the fifteenth century are extant to show the importance

¹ *Proc. Soc. Anthy. Scot.* vol. i. p. 55, Plate III.

attached to the custody "of the bell of Sanct Terman, callit the *Ronecht*,"¹—a name most probably derived from the Gaelic *Ronnaich*, a poet, *rannach*, a songster, in allusion to its melodious sounds, though such is by no means a usual characteristic of these primitive bells, their *clogarnach* or tinkling being anything but musical. The *Ronnell Bell of Birnie*, another of the simple iron hand-bells coated with bronze, still preserved at the ancient parish church of that name, in the old bishopric of Moray, perhaps derives its name from the same fond ascription of dulcet sounds to its rude clangour. It is reputed to have been brought from Rome by the first bishop of that see.² The Old Account of the Parish of Killin, in Perthshire, contains a notice of the bell of another favourite Celtic saint—that of St. Fillan, who flourished in the middle of the seventh century,—not only preserved, but had in reverence for its miraculous powers, almost to the close of the eighteenth century. It is described as "of some mixed metal, about a foot high, and of an oblong form. It usually lay on a grave-stone in the churchyard. When mad people were brought to be dipped in the saint's pool, it was necessary to perform certain ceremonies, in which there was a mixture of Druidism and Popery. After remaining all night in the chapel bound with ropes, the bell was set upon their head with great solemnity. It was the popular opinion that, if stolen, it would extricate itself out of the thief's hands, and return home ringing all the way. For some years past this bell has been locked up to prevent its being used to superstitious purposes."³ Pennant visited the locality, and refers to the peculiar gifts of healing ascribed to the saint, but he does not appear to have

¹ *Regist. Episc. Aberdeen*, vol. i. pp. 327, 328; *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. iv. Pref. p. xxii.

² Sir T. Dick Lauder, *Morayshire Floods*, p. 166.

³ *Sinclair's Statist. Acc.* vol. xvii. p. 377.

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known of his bell. Some portions of the ruined chapel exist, and the pool of Strathfillan remains as of yore, still distinguished by the peasantry as the Holy Pool, and even visited by some who have faith in its virtues ; but if the bell is to be seen, it must be sought for among the treasures of some private collector. "It was stolen," says the author of the recent Account of Killin Parish, writing in 1843, "by an English antiquarian about forty years ago." Unhappily the old virtues of the bell had departed, or the saint no longer favours a faithless generation, else its potent *clogarnach* should long since have announced its return to Strathfillan. But another bell of the same favourite saint, the *Buidhean* of Strowan in Blair Atholl, is still preserved in the district where popular veneration long ascribed to it nearly similar virtues. One favourite tradition tells that the native of a neighbouring parish having stolen the Buidhean, he sat down to rest, in the course of his flight, on the top of a neighbouring hill, and laid the bell on a stone beside him while he drew breath. On attempting to resume his journey, however, he found it immovable ; and it was not till the affrighted and penitent thief turned his face towards Strowan with the resolution of restoring the abstracted treasure, that it became once more portable and was easily borne back to its favourite shrine. The Buidhean of St. Fillan is of iron coated with bronze, and rudely riveted, after the fashion of such Celtic relics. It is now in the possession of J. B. McInroy, Esq. of Luce, who gave the parish a modern bell of more practical utility in exchange for the ancient clagan. Two interesting additions to this curious class of Scottish ecclesiastical relics have been made in recent years. In 1843 the Kingoldrum Bell, now in the Scottish Collection, was dug up in the churchyard of the parish of Kingoldrum, Forfarshire, and contained, in addition to

its detached tongue, a bronze chalice, and a glass bowl. More recently the researches of Mr. James Farrer have led, among other and more valuable discoveries, to the recovery of another iron skellach measuring twelve inches high, which lay buried in the Knowe of Saverough, in Orkney, alongside of a group of stone cists, and protected by a similar vault of stone.¹ The bell is now deposited, with the accompanying relics, in the Scottish Museum.

On the Island of Inniskenneth, which is affirmed to derive its name from Kenneth, a friend of St. Columba, whom the prayer of the saint rescued from drowning, there are the ruins of an ancient chapel of small dimensions, about forty feet in length, and around it some finely sculptured tombstones of early date. Here, towards the close of last century, according to the Old Account of the Parish, a relic still existed, described by the Statist, as "a small bell used at the celebration of mass,"² which had previously attracted the attention of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his Hebridean Tour. After describing the little chapel, he adds: "On one side of the altar is a bas-relief of the Blessed Virgin, and by it lies a little bell, which though cracked, and without a clapper, has remained there for ages, guarded only by the venerableness of the place." Unhappily the reverent spirit to which the bell of St. Kenneth so long owed its safety has expired, and it must now be sought for in private hands: but with so many evidences of the recent existence of such relics of the first preachers of the faith in Scotland, it is not unreasonable to conceive that this, as well as others, may be in safe keeping among the heirlooms of old Highland families, which a wider diffusion of an intelligent spirit of reverence for national antiquities may

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. cexiii. p. 603.

² *Sinclair's Statist. Acc.* vol. xiv. p. 203.

bring to light. Meanwhile, these notices suffice to show that the beautiful bell found at Torrebhlaurn is by no means unique in Scotland. Probably none of the earlier Christian missionaries were without such a potent relic ; and the only Scandinavian influence which history would justify us in connecting with them, is the diminution of their number, and the spoiling and slaying of their owners, down to the comparatively late date of St. Olave's conversion, and his mission to the Pagan Norsemen of the Orkneys, armed with more carnal weapons than the bishop's crosier and consecrated bell. With those venerable memorials of the Christian teachers of the heathen Picts and Scots, may also be mentioned a modern relic of the same class : a graceful little hand-bell, presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1783. It is decorated, in basso-relievo, on the one side with the temptation of Adam and Eve, and on the other with the crucifixion. It is no doubt also an old ecclesiastical bell, though belonging to a period long subsequent to the era of St. Kentigern or St. Fillan.

But another relic of St. Fillan, even more interesting than his bell, has descended safely to our own day. In the year 1782, an English tourist, during a ramble in the Highlands of Perthshire, was shown at the village of Killin, on the banks of Loch Tay, the *Quigrich*, or crosier of St. Fillan, who has bequeathed his name to the neighbouring strath. It was then in the possession of Malice Doire, its hereditary custodier, whose name confirms the evidence he produced. The name *Deoraid*, originally signifying a wanderer or pilgrim, in its Latin forms of *Jore*, *Deor*, *Doire*, and *Dewar*, has been borne by various hereditary custodiers of ecclesiastical relics : as by the Dewars of Monivaird, the keepers of St. Rowan's Bell. According to Dr. Reeves, the designation

of the crosier itself had a somewhat similar origin. "In 1428," he remarks, "we find the 'lator ipsius reliquie de Coygerach, qui *Jore* vulgariter dicitur.' This reliquary, called *Coigorioch*, i.e., stranger, or *Quegrith*, was a crosier-head sacred to St. Fillan, of Strathfillan, in Perthshire."¹ In 1782, Malice Doire produced a copy of the royal investment granted to his ancestors by James III., in the year 1487, setting forth that "Forasmikle as we have understand that our servitour Malice Doire and his forefathers had ane relick of Saint Filane, callit the *Quigrich*, in keeping of us and of our progenitouris of maist nobill mynde, quham God assoylie, sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys and of before, and made name obedience nor answer to na person, spirituale nor temporale, in ony thing concerning the said haly relick utherwayis than what is contenit in the auld infestment thareof, made and grantit be our said progenitouris,"² etc. The royal letters accordingly go on to warrant the custodier of the precious relic to bear it through the country without let or hindrance, as his fathers were wont to do. The custodier of the Quigrich emigrated to America in 1818, carrying the ancient relic with him; and when preparing the first edition of this work, the only trustworthy information I could obtain of it was from the Rev. Aeneas McDonell Dawson, whose own immediate ancestors were for a time the guardians of St. Fillan's crosier. From his letter it appeared that the Quigrich was still in safety, though unfortunately severed from nearly all those national and local associations which confer on it so peculiar an interest. "The celebrated crook of St. Fillan," he writes, "is still in Canada, and in the keeping of the very family to whose ancestor it was confided on the Field of Bannockburn,

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, Notes, p. 367.

² *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 289.

when the king, displeased with the abbot for having abstracted from it the relics of St. Fillan previously to the battle, from want of confidence, it is alleged, in the success of the Scottish cause, deprived him of the guardianship. This family, it appears, lost possession of the crosier for a time, having disposed of it for a sum of money to an ancestor of my mother's family, who adhered to the ancient faith. Soon after this transaction, however, ceasing to prosper, and attributing their change of circumstances to their indifference to a sacred



FIG. 216. The Qulrich of St. Fillan.

object that had been solemnly intrusted to them, they persuaded the purchaser, or rather the person who inherited the crosier from him, to part with it in their favour." Since the date of that letter, unanticipated changes have afforded me opportunities for carefully inspecting and drawing the original, in the possession of its hereditary custodian, Alexander Dewar, a Canadian farmer. Its primitive form and elaborate details are shown in the accompanying woodcut. The front is set with a large oval crystal, and above this, forming the

front of the crest or ridge of the crook, is a bust of an ecclesiastic, designed, it may be presumed, to represent St. Fillan. The lower end of the

ridge terminates in a snake's head, on the under side of the pommel, which is wrought into alternate semicircular and triangular compartments, filled with interlaced knot-work. On the flat shield-shaped point of the crook is a rude but bold engraving of the crucifixion, with a star on each side relieved on a hatched background. The whole is of silver, gilt, wrought on a hollow core of copper, and ornamented with lozenge and triangular compartments of filigree work, set in a cross-hatched border. It measures nine and a quarter inches high, and nearly seven and a half inches across from the point of the crook; and as will be seen from the engraving of it now given, differs very considerably both in form and details from the sketch furnished to the Scottish Antiquaries in 1785, and copied in the first edition of this work.

The ancient crosier of St. Moloc, another favourite Celtic saint, has in like manner partially escaped the ravages of time and iconoclastic zeal; and after being preserved for centuries in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral of Lismore, has recently come into the possession of the present Duke of Argyle. It is known in the district by the simple name of the *Bachuill More*, or big staff; and consists of a plain curved staff, as shown here (Fig. 217), long since spoiled

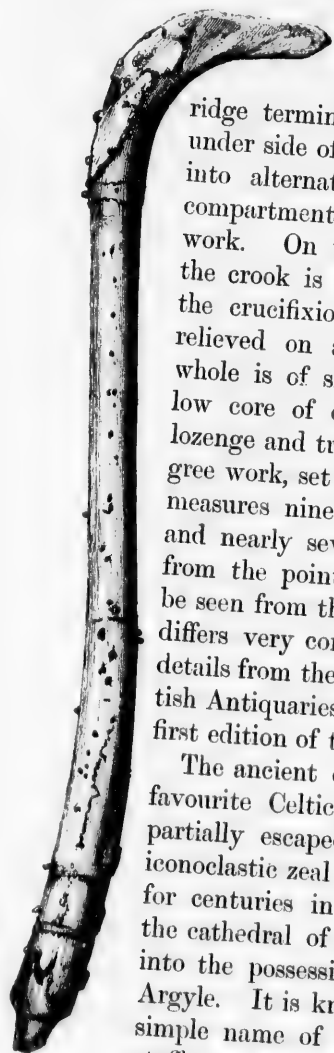


FIG. 217.
The Bachuill More.

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of its costlier ornaments ; and retaining only a few of the rivets, and some fragments of the copper of its metal casing. The right of its curatorship, and probably also of bearing it before the bishops of Argyle, appears to have been hereditary, and conferred on its holders the popular title of Barons of Bachuill, and the possession of a small freehold estate, which remained in the hands of the lineal descendant of the old staff-bearer till within the last few years. This estate was latterly held under a deed granted by the Earl of Argyle in 1544, the ancient crosier being preserved in verification of the right, till it was recently delivered up, in return for new titles granted, in order to enable the late owner, the last of his race, to dispose of the freehold, which could no longer descend to his heirs. The original charter of confirmation grants,—“Dilecto signiffero nostro Johanni M'Molmore vic Kevir, et heredibus suis masculis de suo corpore legitime procreatis seu procreandis quibus deficientibus at nostram donationem reuerten. omnes et singulas nostras terras de dimidietate terrarum de Peynebachillen et Peynehallen extenden. ad dimidiatem merce terrarum jacen. in Insula de Lismor, cum custodia magni bacculi beati Moloci,” etc.¹



FIG. 218.—Portrose Crosier.

¹ The Charter is printed in full in the *Reliq. Antiq. Scot.* No. xxxv. p. 150. *Vide also Orig. Paroch.* vol. ii. p. 163 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 12.

Two other ancient episcopal crosiers remain to be noticed, each of them associated with Scottish sees. The one engraved above (Fig. 218) was found, in its present imperfect state, along with a glove and other relics, in the course of excavations in the choir of the cathedral of For-trose, when a stone coffin was discovered, which doubtless contained the remains of one of the old bishops of Ross. This interesting relic was presented by Sir George Mac-kenzie to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1822, and is now preserved in the Scottish Museum. It retains traces both of colour and gilding, and though greatly decayed and imperfect, is still characterized by considerable elegance. It measures across the head the segment of a circle of about five inches in diameter. The other crosier referred to, belongs to the ancient see of St. Magnus in the Orkneys, and likewise owes its



FIG. 219.—Bishop Tulloch's Crosier.

preservation, like the relics of more primitive eras, to the medieval practice of depositing the symbols of the chief pastoral office beside the remains of the deceased bishop. During the progress of restorations in the choir of the cathedral at Kirk wall, in the month of August 1848, a modern flooring was removed, which concealed the bases of the columns and piers. Several ancient tombs were brought to light by this means; and in one place on the north side of the altar steps, a finely carved slab of stone was exposed. On removing this, a small vaulted chamber or cist was discovered, within which lay a skeleton greatly decayed; and beside it the crosier figured here, carved in oak, and a chalice and paten, both roughly modelled, apparently

in the common white wax frequently used in ancient seals. The chalice, though somewhat imperfect round the lip, is otherwise entire, but the paten is greatly injured; and both are little more than rude symbols of these most essential sacred vessels used in the service of the mass. The oaken crosier measures eleven and a half inches long as shown above (Fig. 219), but it is notched at the lower extremity, evidently for the purpose of attaching it to a staff. The tomb has been supposed to be that of Thomas de Tulloch, *circa* 1422-1448: a date with which the style of ornament of the crosier very well agrees; but there is no sufficient evidence to admit of its being assigned with certainty to a particular individual. About the same time as those interesting episcopal memorials were brought to light, a very curious discovery was made of human remains enclosed in one of the pillars of the western or most ancient portion of the choir, at a height of nearly twelve feet from the floor. There was an indentation or cut in the skull, which, with the singular position of the vault, induced some of the northern antiquaries to hazard the conjecture that they had discovered the remains of their patron saint, the good Earl Magnus: a thing not altogether inconceivable. Nearly at the same time the tomb of William, the first resident bishop of the Northern Isles, was exposed, as already described.

The form of the ancient Scottish chalice, as indicated on early tombs, corresponds, as might be expected, to the general usage of the medieval Church. The wax model found in the supposed tomb of Bishop Tulloch at Orkney, indicates the same conformity to the prevailing taste of the age. The peculiar arts, however, which modified the sepulchral and monumental sculpture, as well as the architecture of the primitive Scottish Church, doubtless also occasionally conferred equally charac-

teristic forms on the sacred vessels and other articles of Church furnishing.

The chalice is figured on various early Scottish ecclesiastical seals, as well as on sepulchral slabs and other medieval sculptures. But an original Scottish chalice, a relic of the venerable abbey of St. Columba, preserved till a very few years since an older example of the sacred vessels of the altar than is indicated in any existing memorial of the medieval Church. The later history of this venerable relic is replete with interest. It was of fine gold, of a very simple form, and ornamented in a style that gave evidence of its belonging to a very early period. It was transferred from the possession of Sir Lauchlan MacLean to the Glengarry family, in the time of Æneas, afterwards created by Charles II. Lord Macdonell and Arross, under the circumstances narrated in the following letter from a cousin of the celebrated Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, and communicated to me by a clergyman,¹ who obtained it from the family of the gentleman to whom it was originally addressed :—“The following anecdote,” he observes, “I heard from the late bishop, John Chisholm, and from Mr. John M’Eachan, uncle to the Duke of Tarentum, who died at my house at Irin Moidart, aged upwards of one hundred years :—‘Maclean of Duart, expecting an invasion of his lands in Mull by his powerful neighbour the Earl of Argyll, applied to Glengarry for assistance. Æneas of Glengarry marched at the head of five hundred men to Ardtornish, nearly opposite Duart Castle ; and crossing with a few of his officers to arrange the passage of the men across the sound of Mull, Maclean, rejoicing at the arrival of such a friend, offered some choice wine in a golden chalice, part of the plunder of Iona. Glengarry

¹ Rev. Æneas M’Donell Dawson.

other articles

Scottish ecclesiastical and other articles, a Scottish chalice, a chalice, preserved of the sacred any existing history of It was of mented in a a very early session of Sir in the time Lord Mac-narrated in e celebrated d communi- it from the s originally e observes, sholm, and e of Taren- idart, aged of Duart, ull by his applied to y marched Ardtornish, g with a f the men g at the wine in a Glengarry

was struck with horror, and said, folding his handkerchief about the chalice, "Maclea, I came here to defend you against mortal enemies, but since by sacrilege and profanation you have made God your enemy, no human means can serve you." Glengarry returned to his men, and Maclea sent the chalice and some other pieces of plate belonging to the service of the altar, with a deputation of his friends, to persuade him to join him; but he marched home. His example was followed by several other chiefs, and poor Maclea was left to compete single-handed with his powerful enemy."

Such was the last historical incident connected with the golden chalice of Iona: perhaps without exception the most interesting ecclesiastical relic which Scotland possessed. Unfortunately its later history only finds a parallel in that of the celebrated Danish golden horn. It was preserved in the charter-chest of Glengarry, until it was presented by the late Chief to Bishop Ronald McDonald, on whose demise it came into the possession of his successor, Dr. Scott, Roman Catholic Bishop of Glasgow. But the sacristy of St. Mary's Church in that city, where it was preserved, was broken into in 1845, and before the police could obtain a clue to the depredators, the golden relic of Iona was no longer a chalice. Thus perished by the hands of a common felon a memorial of the spot consecrated by the labours of some of the earliest Christian missionaries to the Pagan Caledonians, and which had probably survived the vicissitudes of more than a thousand years. In reply to inquiries made as to the existence of any drawing of the chalice, or even the possibility of a trustworthy sketch being executed from memory, a gentleman in Glasgow writes: "I have no means of getting even a sketch from which to make a drawing. Were I a good hand myself, I could easily furnish one, having often examined it. It was a

chalice that no one could look on without being convinced of its very great antiquity. The workmanship was rude, the ornamental drawings or engravings even more hard than medieval ones in their outlines, and the cup bore mark of the original hammering which had beaten it into shape."

In the former edition of this work, the "Dunvegan Cup," celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in his *Lord of the Isles*, was referred to under the idea that it had been originally destined for the service of the altar, as indicated by the sacred monogram engraved on the inner surface of its silver rim, and by the reputed inscription around its exterior. Since then, however, an opportunity of carefully examining and drawing the original, satisfied me that this singular Hebridean drinking-cup is a remarkably fine example of the Irish mether, elaborately mounted in silver, and decorated with niello, gilding, filigree work, and stones. The engraving, Plate XXIII., is executed with minute care from a careful drawing made by me from the original, and represents it more accurately than the former plate, engraved from a drawing by Mrs. McLeod. The wooden mether is a common relic in Ireland, and differs from the Scottish mazer and quaich in being tall and narrow in proportion to the width of the mouth, where it most frequently passes from the rounded form to a square rim, as in the example engraved (Fig. 220) from the original in the Scottish collection. A wooden vessel of this class, apparently of alder, forms the nucleus of the Dunvegan cup. Like the plain wooden mether, it is square above and rounded towards the base, where a silver rim is attached, wrought in interlaced knot-work. But instead of resting upon this, a projecting ledge, curiously ornamented with pyramidal silver knobs, and with sockets, once filled with stones, is united by elaborately decorated bands of silver, wrought in filigree and

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niello, to the lower rim ; and from the bands corresponding with the angles of the cup, four human legs of silver gilt, shod in niello, project below the rim, and form the feet on which the cup stands. The inscription, which runs round the exterior of the silver rim, is as follows :

Kahīa nigē y neill uxor johīs meguigir pñcipis de firmanac, me fi. fecit Año dōi 1493°. Oculi omñ
ī te spāt dōe et tu das escā illoř ī tē oř°.

The latter part of the inscription, strangely misread by Sir Walter Scott, is the 15th verse of the 145th

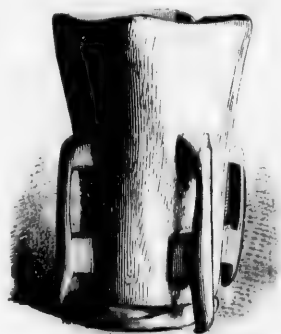


FIG. 220. Mether.

Psalm, according to the Vulgate ; and the whole may be rendered : *Katharina nigen uy Neill uxor Johannis Meguigir, principis de Firmanac, me fieri fecit Anno Domini 1493. Oculi omnium in te sperant Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno.* The family legends of the Macleods associated the Dunvegan cup with an old traditional chief or hero, Neil Ghlunc-dhu, or Black-knee, by whom it may have been borne off in some foray from the chief of Fermanagh ; but the inscription leaves no doubt of its Irish origin. The chief, John MacGuire, is repeatedly mentioned in the *Annals*

of the *Four Masters*, and his death is chronicled in 1503 ; but no notice of his wife, Katherine O'Neill, has been discovered.¹

The use of wooden vessels as chalices was, for obvious reasons, abandoned at an early period, so that the *calices lignei* became in later ages a proverbial illustration of the obsolete simplicity of primitive times. "We may now take up that old regrait," exclaims Fountainhall, in moralizing on the immense wealth first acquired by the Church about A.D. 600 ; "when ther ware *calices lignei* ther ware then *sacerdotes aurei*, but now when our chalices are of gold and silver, we have got *ligneos sacerdotes*."² Vessels of wood, even though mounted and jewelled, like the Dunvegan cup, were very early disused in the services of the altar ; and the mazer cup or maple bowl constituted one of the most prominent implements in the conviviality of the Middle Ages. The name, indeed, ceased at an early period to be exclusively reserved for those manufactured from the wood of the maple-tree, from whence the mazer had derived its name, and was at length applied to all drinking-cups of a certain class, of whatever material. Among the examples of medieval art exhibited at the London Royal Society of Arts in 1850, was a beautiful mazer bowl of silver-gilt, of fifteenth century workmanship which belongs to Oriel College, Oxford. Of the same class, also, probably, were some of the Scottish cups enumerated in a curious inventory of the treasure and jewels of James III., "fundin in a bandit kist like a gardeviant," among which are the "FOURE MASARIS, CALLIT KING ROBERT THE BRODIS, with a cover ;" and again, "the hede of silver of ane of the coveris of masar."

¹ For notices of the Dunvegan cup, vide *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 407 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. i. p. 8 ; *Archæol. Jour.* vol. xii. p. 79 ; and the Notes to Sir Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*.

² Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, Bann. Club, p. 498.

The "Collection of Inventorys of Royal Wardrobe and Jewell-house," from 1488 to 1606, furnishes interesting minutiae in regard to the royal plate and jewels, and the consecrated vessels for the service of the altar. Besides the mazers, there is "ane cowp callit king Robert the Bruce coupe, of silver owirgilt,"—another pleasing evidence of the reverence with which the name of the saviour of his country continued to be regarded. The royal plate and jewels are of an exceedingly curious and costly character, while among the "chapell geir" we find "ane chesabill of purpoure velvot, with the stoyle and fannowne, orphis, twa abbis," etc. Another of "crammosie velvot, furniset with a stole and a fannoun only;" another "of black velvot, with croce upoun it, broderrit of clayth of gold." Altar cloths, broidered and jewelled; "ane challeis and ane patene gilt;" "ane caise of silver for the messbreid, with ane cover;" "ane litil cors with precious stanis;" "ane lytill box of gald with the haly croce, send be the Duk of Albany to the kingis graice;" "ane croce of silver, with our Lady and Sanct Johne, gilt." Of silver, "ouregilt," in Edinburgh Castle, "twa chandleris, ane chalice and ane patine, ane halie watter fatt," etc.; "ane bell of silver;" "ane bassing; ane laver of fyne massy gold, with thrissillis and lelleis crounit upoun the samen," etc. The list indeed, of which these are only a few illustrations, greatly exceeds what might have been anticipated after so many years of national disaster and suffering. On Plate XXIV. is engraved a singularly beautiful enamelled Ciborium, which constitutes one of the most valued heirlooms of the Bruces of Kennet, and is associated in more than one ancient tradition, with Scottish royalty. It is an unusually fine example of the *champlevé* process, as practised by the enamellers of Limoges in the twelfth century; and is assigned by Mr. Albert Way either to that school, or to the equally

celebrated workmen of the Rhine.¹ This singularly beautiful relic is traditionally affirmed to have belonged to Malcolm Canmore ; and according to the family traditions of its later custodiers, it was presented by Mary, Queen of Scots, to Sir James Balfour of Burleigh, from whom it descended to its present possessor, by the marriage of Alexander Bruce of Kennet, with Mary, the daughter of Robert, Lord Burleigh, in 1714. Mr. Way suggests that this ciborium may possibly be the vessel referred to in the "Inventair of the Queene Regentis movablis," received by Servay de Condé, the Queen's servitor, in 1562, as "ane lawer with a cowp and cover of copper ennamailit."² The vessel measures six and a half inches in greatest diameter, and is elaborately decorated with subjects from the Old and New Testament, which have been minutely described by Mr. Way, in the Catalogue of Antiquities exhibited during the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh, in 1856. This exquisite specimen of early art is all the more valuable from the rarity of examples of the Scottish royal plate, once so abundant. Scarcely a solitary example of the medieval Scottish *chapell geir*, or of the royal mazer, or convivial bowl, remains to illustrate the usages of our ancestors. We learn, however, from the old inventories, that there was no lack of either ; and that the value specially attached to the mazer cup dates in Scotland, as elsewhere, from a very early period. This probably originated in part from superstitious feelings, arising from some special virtue attached to the wood of the maple tree. But its close grain, the beauty of its variegated surface, and its susceptibility of high polish, were doubtless the chief reasons for its continued use as

¹ *Catalogue of Antiquities*, etc., exhibited at the Museum of the Archæological Institute, at Edinburgh, in 1856, p. 122.

² *Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe*, etc., p. 158.

[CHAP.

PLATE XXIV.



KENNET ENAMELLED CIBORIUM.

the material for the pledge-cup and wassail bowl; and when it was replaced by other woods, or even by the precious metals, the old name was still retained. The woodcut represents a mazer of very simple form, and probably of an early age, made not of the maple but the ash, a tree famed of old for many supernatural qualities. It was found in the deep draw-well, in the ruined castle of Merdon, near Hursly, built by Bishop Henry de Blois, A.D. 1138.¹ The *ciphus de mazer*o frequently figures among the household effects of citizens of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and is no less commonly alluded

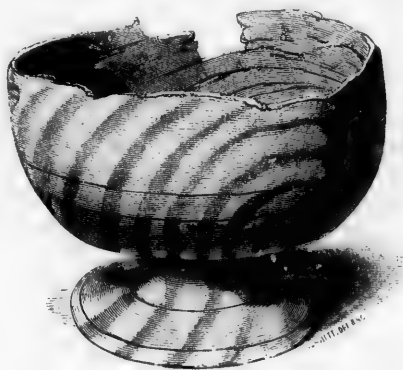


FIG. 221.—Mazer Cup.

to by the elder poets, as in Robert de Brunne's version of Wace's *Brut*, written in the latter part of the thirteenth century, where "mazers of rich price" are specified among the gifts bestowed by King Arthur on his foreign guests. The mazer figures also in the inventory of goods of the Sheriff of Nottingham, taken by "Lytell John," as printed by Wynken de Worde, in the popular black-letter ballad,—"*A Lytell geste of Robin Hode*;" and it is thus introduced in the fine old Scottish ballad of "*Gill Morice*,"

¹ *Archæol. Jour.* vol. iii. p. 361.

"Then up an' spak the bauld baron,
 An angry man was he;
 He's ta'en the table wi' his foot,
 Sae has he wi' his knee,
 Till siller cup an' mazer dish
 In finders he garr'd flee."

The mazer cup was evidently regarded as a family heirloom, and as such inscribed with quaint legends and pious aphorisms, and sometimes decorated with rich chasing and carving, as Chaucer has so beautifully described in the "Mazer yrought of the maple," mentioned in his *Shepherd's Callender*. The quaint simplicity, both of the devices and inscriptions of many of the



FIG. 222.—Mazer of the Fourteenth Century.

wassail bowls, furnishes curious illustration of the manners and ideas of the age to which they belong. Our forefathers had a pious, but withal a very convenient fashion, of uniting religion with their daily sports, and even, as it might seem, seeking to sanctify their excesses. Both Chaucer and Dunbar wind up their freest versions of the *Decameron* with a pious couplet; and in like spirit the old toper invoked the Trinity on the rim of his wassail bowl, and engraved the mystic Saint Christopher within it. The woodcut represents a very beautiful mazer of the time of Richard II., now in the possession of Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, M.P. It is

made of highly polished wood, apparently maple, and hooped with a richly embossed rim of silver gilt, on which is inscribed, as shown in the annexed facsimile of a portion of the "edgle of sylver," the following characteristic invocation :—

In . the . name . of . the . trinitie
fille . the . kup . and . drinke . to . me.



FIG. 223.—Inscription on Mazer.

From the tenor of such legends frequently inscribed on those ancient cups, it has not been uncommon to describe them as sacred vessels, designed only for use in the service of the Church. Thus a maple cup, bearing the date 1608, was forwarded for exhibition at a meeting of the British Archæological Association, in 1848, as a chalice;¹ and another, apparently of the same character, made in the year 1611, was shown to the members of the Archæological Institute in 1850, which it was also conjectured "might have served in some rural parish as a chalice."² Such cups, however, were by no means rare in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and though frequently inscribed in terms calculated to suggest such a sacred character, there will generally be found some accompaniment in the legend or devices no less characteristic of mirth and good fellowship. On the 4th January 1667, Mr. Pepys notes in his gossiping Diary, having "last of all, a flagon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cup, as a Christmas draught, which made all merry." Fountainhall, in his *Decisions*, records some curious notes of an action brought by Sir Alexander Ogilvie, afterwards

¹ *Jour. of the Archæol. Assoc.* vol. iv. p. 403.

² *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vii. p. 81. *Vide* also vol. vi. p. 189.

Lord Forglen, in 1685, against Sir Alexander Forbes, of Tolquhoun, for stealing a gilded mazer cup out of his house, which was subsequently discovered in the hands of a goldsmith in Aberdeen, with whom its careless owner had left it some years before for repair. From such glimpses as we recover of the history of the litigants, neither of the old Scottish baronets seem characters likely to have gifted chalices, even of maple or ashen wood, though probably well fitted to match with Secretary Pepys in discussing a "Christmas draught." One quaint, but very beautiful allusion, however, is made by an old Scottish writer to the mazer cup, referring to it metaphorically, as to a sacramental chalice. The passage occurs in Zacharie Boyd's *Last Battell of the Soule*, published at Edinburgh in 1629. "Take now," says he, "the cup of salvation, the great *Mazer* of His mercy, and call upon the name of the Lord."

A curious wooden cup, in the collection of Mr. W. B. Johnstone, bearing the date 1611, serves to illustrate the character of the pious legends graven on the mazers of the seventeenth century: not unsuited in part for the decoration of a sacramental chalice, but also accompanied with other devices and allusions, which leave no doubt of the real destination of the mazer for the convivial board. Its height is nine inches, and its greatest circumference, a little below the brim, nineteen inches. The outer surface of the bowl is divided into ornamental compartments, within which are grouped the lion, unicorn, stag, ostrich, hedgehog, dog, and cock, with trees, flowers, etc. The ostrich is represented regaling himself with a horse-shoe!¹ Around the rim,

¹ This quaint version of an old popular error forms the crest of more than one Scottish family, but there is no indication of its being introduced on the mazer as a heraldic device, or symbolic reference to its original owner.

bowl, stem, and even on the lower side of the stand, the carver has indulged his moralizing vein, both in prose and verse. The inscription on the bowl reads :—

THE FOUNTAYNE OF ALL HEALTH AND WEALTH AND JOYES,
TO THIRSTY SOULES HE GIVETH DRINK INDEED ;
SUCH AS TURN TO HIM FROM THEIR EVILL WAVES
SHALL FINDE SOUND COMFORT IN THEIR GREATEST NEEDE ;
BUT EVILL WORKERS THAT IN SINNE REMAINE,
THEY ARE ORDAYNED TO ETERNALL PAYNE,
FOR EVERY ONE OF US SHALL BE REWARDED ACCORDING TO
OUR WORKES ; THEREFORE REPENT UNFAYNEDLY AND AMEND.

Round the rim of the stand are the words and date :
THEY THAT SEEKE AFTER THE LORD SHALL PRAYSE HIM,
THEIR HARTS SHALL LIVE FOR EVER. 1611. ; and then
on the underside of the stand the cup thus takes up the
hortatory strain, in a mixed vein, *in propria persona* :—

MISSUSE ME NOT ALTHOUGH I AM NO PLATE ;
A MAPLE CUPP THAT IS NOT OUT OF DATE.
DRINKE WELL, AND WELCOME, BUT BE NOT TOO FREE,
EXAMINE WHETHER THAT IN CHRIST YOU BE ;
IF THAT YOUR FAITH BE TRUE, AND FIRM, AND SOUND,
THEN IN ALL GOOD WORKS YOU WILL STILL AROUND.
SO RUN THAT YE MAY OBTAYNE.

There was perhaps a little quiet humour lurking in the mind of the carver, when he inscribed these latter excellent and very practical maxims on the underside of the stand, where it is only possible to peruse them when the cup is empty ! It will be seen that this maple cup bears a very close resemblance to the contemporary vessels of the same class referred to in the Journals of the Archaeological Association and the Institute. Their odd devices and quaint inscriptions are not unworthy of note by the historian as indicative of the old Puritan spirit manifesting itself in this simple guise during the reign of James, preparatory to its stern outbreak in that of his son.

The spurious chalices of modern date have led us somewhat beyond the legitimate bounds of the subject,

though they cannot be considered quite undeserving of a passing notice. One other early relic in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, a small brass box, closely resembling several which have been found at various times in England, is deserving of study from the light it is calculated to throw on the date of this class of objects. They have been supposed to be pyxes, intended to hold the chrism, or for pigments used by the monastic scribes. Two similar boxes discovered at Lewis are engraved in the *Archæologia*, and described as small bronze pyxes;¹ and others found at Lincoln are stated to have occurred with Roman remains; while examples found at Warrington, Dunwich, and other English localities, were

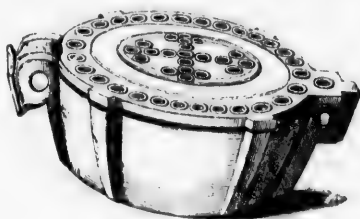


FIG. 294.—BRASS PYX.

associated with medieval relics.² The remarkably close resemblance of those to the Scottish example manifestly points to some common purpose for the whole; and the latter is of special value as supplying means which are wanting in the others of making some approximation to the precise age to which they belong. It was found about the year 1818, near Dalquharran Castle, in the parish of Dailly, Ayrshire, filled with coins of David II. of Scotland, Edwards I. and II. of England, and two counterfeit sterlings of the Counts of Flanders and Porcien.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 437.

² *Archæol. Jour.* vol. vi. p. 71; vol. xviii. p. 159.

Few as are the examples of Scottish ecclesiastical relics to which we can now refer, they are more than might reasonably be anticipated in a country where the fanes and altars of the medieval church have lain in ruins for so many centuries, and where even the existence of a single ruined church pertaining to its primitive Christian era may be liable to dispute. Though such remains are of less esteem as sources of information relative to the periods to which they belong than the objects of earlier eras, they will not be regarded by the intelligent historian as altogether devoid of value in relation to the peculiar arts and customs or the degree of civilisation of ages, concerning which much obscurity has still to be removed. Modern, indeed, the oldest of them are in comparison with those objects to which the geologist would limit the term *prehistoric*; but even the most modern among the antiquities described in the latter chapters of this work supply information relative to arts and customs of past generations, concerning which history has preserved no written record.

CHAPTER X.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

THE numerous relics which illustrate the arts and manners of the Medieval Period, have already furnished English and foreign antiquaries with copious materials for large and valuable treatises on single selected departments; nor is the field of Scottish medieval art greatly less productive. It is not, however, designed in this closing chapter to do more than select a few characteristic examples of a very miscellaneous character, which are worthy of a passing glance in a treatise on Scottish Archæology, though they pertain to a branch of the subject which can only be satisfactorily dealt with in detached monographs. Of medieval personal ornaments it would be vain to attempt the most cursory enumeration in a closing chapter; but their value as elements of medieval history is altogether different from those of the primitive periods heretofore referred to. Whatever exhibits to us the artistic skill, the ingenuity, and the personal habits of a past age, cannot be without interest to the historian; but we manifestly stand in a very different position in relation to those accessories of history when dealing with comparatively recent and literate ages.

The relics of the Bronze Period have already occupied a large space; but objects of the same material occur in every era with which the antiquary has to deal. Among these, accordingly, bronze caldrons and ewers of British,

Roman, and medieval times have been described or referred to in previous chapters; and one class of them includes some of the commoner relics which British archæologists are now learning to assign to a native origin, or to late periods. A brass ewer preserved in the collection of the Tweedside Antiquarian Society, at Kelso, and believed to have been found in Roxburghshire, bears the bilingual inscription, in characters of the fifteenth century: *neemt water, and prendes leabe*: an invitation similar to that inscribed on another bronze vessel found in Norfolk, engirt with the legend: *VENEZ · LAVER*. They are probably both of Continental manufacture. The common form of bronze pot, long invariably designated



FIG. 293. — Gold Ring, Flodden Field.

a Roman camp-kettle, is also transferred to medieval times by similar literal evidence. In the *Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare*, a bronze vessel of this type is represented, surrounded by an ornamental belt, decorated with what appear in the engraving like Runic characters. Another medieval example of the bronze kettle, of the same common form, engraved in the *Archæologia*¹ under the name of an ancient hunting-pot, is ornamented in relief with the symbols of the Evangelists, and various devices, chiefly relating to the chase, and is encircled with the inscription: — *Filermus Angetel me fecit fieri*; and underneath, in smaller characters, this couplet:

*Je sui pot de graunt honhur
Fiaunde a fere de bon sabhur.*

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 278. Plates LI. LII. LIII.

Many bronze vessels discovered in Scotland have been found on the draining or cutting of mosses, into which they may be supposed to have been thrown on the sudden flight either of native Briton or Roman invader, according as we incline to assign them to the one or the other. But we look in vain for them among the recorded discoveries at the Roman Newstead, Inveresk, or Cramond, or on the sites of the legionary stations on the wall of Antoninus; though the Roman relics disclosed at Auchindavy, in 1771, including five altars and a statue, with iron hammers and other objects, all huddled together in one pit, furnish no doubtful evidence of the precipitancy with which the legionary cohorts were compelled to abandon the Caledonian wall.¹ An interesting discovery of bronze vessels was made a few years since in the grounds immediately adjoining the cloisters of Melrose Abbey. Similar objects have in like manner been frequently found in Galloway, Nithsdale, Annandale, as well as in other districts where relics of the Roman invaders abound. But all those districts furnish still more abundant traces of native occupation, such as the most classical of modern Oldbucks would hesitate to ascribe to a Roman origin. While, however, many bronze vessels are undoubtedly products of native art of various periods, others are no less certainly Roman, and more may have been made after Roman models, so that the attempt to discriminate between them is attended with difficulty. Mere rudeness of workmanship is not in itself a conclusive argument against their Roman manufacture, since we are hardly justified in looking for the refinements of classic art in the furniture of the camp kitchen. But the commonest Roman urn or amphora rarely fails to betray some trace of classic taste: and the clumsiness of most of the bronze pots and ewers referred to, suggests doubts, which receive

¹ Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 201, Plate XXXVIII.

stronger confirmation when we find forms peculiar to the northern designer: such as the snake-head with which the spout is terminated in one of the so-called Roman tripods in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, discovered, in its present imperfect state, at a depth of five feet below the surface, in a moss near Closeburn Hall, Dumfriesshire. Its shape is one of frequent occurrence; and the decoration of the spout, though also not uncommon, is greatly more suggestive of British or Scandinavian than of Roman art. It is engraved here along with another of rarer form, dug up in the neighbourhood of Dundee, and now preserved at Dalmahoy House.¹ A



FIG. 220.—Bronze Ewers.

vessel precisely corresponding to the most common class of bronze tripods, or ewers, is figured among the illuminations of the Louterell Psalter, a manuscript of the early part of the fourteenth century. In one of the curious illustrations of contemporary sports introduced profusely among its decorations, is a juggler filling a man with water, which he pours from the ewer into a funnel held in his mouth.² The superstitious veneration which

¹ A group of similar bronze vessels of commoner forms, including an example of the Roman sacrificial patera, preserved in the Abbotsford collection, is engraved among the illustrations to the *Antiquary*, Abbotsford Edition, vol. ii. p. 12.

² *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. Plate XXIV. Fig. 10.

ignorance attaches more or less readily to whatever is derived from a remote or unknown origin, has not failed to include those ancient utensils among the objects of its devotion or fear. In Ireland, more especially, this feeling is still powerful in its influence on the peasantry, and not unfrequently throws additional obstacles in the way of antiquarian research. But in Scotland it was also equally powerful at no very remote date, nor was its influence limited to the unlettered peasant. In the great hall of Tullyallan Castle, near Kincardine, there formerly hung suspended from one of the bosses of its richly sculptured roof an ancient bronze kettle of the most usual form, which bore the name of *The Lady's Purse*. It was traditionally reputed to be filled with gold; and the old family legend bore, that so long as it hung there the Castle would stand and the Tullyallan family would flourish. Whether the Blackadders of Tullyallan ever had recourse to the treasures of the lady's purse in their hour of need can no longer be known, for the castle roof has fallen, and the old race who owned it is extinct. The ancient caldron, however, on the safety of which the fate of the owners was believed to hang, is preserved. It was dug out of the ruins by a neighbouring tenant, and is still regarded with the veneration due to the fatal memorial of an extinct race. It measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height as it stands, and is simply what would be called by antiquaries a Roman camp-kettle, and by old Scottish dames a brass kail-pot!

Repeated allusions have been made to family heir-looms of various kinds: the Highland talismans, the crosiers, bells, and other ecclesiastical relics retained by the descendants of their hereditary custodiers; or the jewels and plate cherished as the memorials of royal favour to some distinguished ancestor. Some of those

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PLATE XXV.



LEYS TEXTURE HORN.

also constitute the legal symbols of tenure, as in the cases of the bell of St. Meddan, and the Bachuill More, and to this latter class also belongs the Leys Tenure Horn, engraved, with its baldric of green silk, on Plate xxv. It is of ivory mounted with silver-gilt, and has been in the possession of the family, now represented by Sir James Horne Burnett, Bart. of Crathes Castle, for centuries. The ancient family of the Burnetts of Leys, in Kincardineshire, held the hereditary office of foresters of the forest of Drum, after its forfeiture by the Walchopes in 1306, and they possess a charter granted to their ancestor, Alexander Burnett, by King Robert the Bruce in 1324, by which they obtained the lands of Killienaclerauch and a portion of those of Cardeny, in recompense for the office, then transferred, with its privileges, to William Irvine of Drum. According to the family traditions, the "Leys Hunting Horn," the badge of the office of forester, then resigned, was retained as the symbol of tenure of the lands gifted in lieu of it by the Bruce; though as the same family subsequently inherited, by marriage with the Blackhalls of that ilk, the office of hereditary forester of the earldom of the Garioch, it is possible that the fine old relic—which is sometimes styled the "Crathes Tenure Horn,"—may have been the symbol of the latter office.

Among the various branches of medieval art which invite the attention of the archæologist, the fictile ware possesses peculiar attractions, as the offspring of primitive arts already minutely considered. So far as may be judged of Scottish medieval pottery from the few examples preserved, it does not greatly differ from contemporary English fictile ware. One curious specimen found in 1833 at Percelewan, in the parish of Dalrymple, Ayrshire, is described as "a pitcher of earthenware like that represented in prints in the hand of the woman of

Samaria, at the well of Sychar."¹ It is glazed, as is most usual with medieval pottery, of a greenish colour, and is curiously decorated on the front with the face and hands of a man in relief. From the description it appears to bear a close resemblance to a fictile vessel found at the bottom of an old well, discovered under the foundation of houses in Cateaton Street, City, London, taken down in 1841.²

Several fine specimens of medieval pottery were dug up a few years since on the estate of Courthill, in the vicinity of Dalry, Ayrshire, and are now in the possession of the proprietor, Andrew Crawford, Esq. Nearly at the same time a remarkable antique sword was discovered at Courthill. The blade, which was of iron, was so greatly corroded that only a fragment of it could be removed; but the handle is of bronze, in the form of a dragon, and is described as characterized by considerable elegance.

Fragments of pottery, of a similar character to the most abundant class of early English medieval pottery, were found at a considerable depth, during the progress of excavations on the Castlehill of Edinburgh in 1849, for constructing a large reservoir, but they were unfortunately too much broken by the workmen to admit of any very definite idea being formed of their shape. The annexed woodcut is from an example in my own possession, which was



FIG. 227. — North Borwick Jug.

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. v. p. 279.

² *Journal of Archaeol. Assoc.* vol. iii. p. 63.

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dug up a few years since in the ancient tumular cemetery in the neighbourhood of North Berwick Abbey, East Lothian. It measures eleven and a quarter inches in height, and about five and a half inches in greatest diameter, and is covered, both externally and internally, with the usual greenish glaze, common on contemporary English pottery. Various similar specimens appear to have been discovered in the same locality, but in most cases only to be destroyed; such coarse earthenware being naturally regarded as scarcely worth the trouble of removing. The example figured here represents a small but very curious specimen of Scottish fictile ware, in the collection at Penicuik House, of the precise age



FIG. 228.—Perforated Jug.

of which we have tolerably accurate evidence. It was found on one of the neighbouring farms in the year 1792, filled with coins of Alexander III., and of Edward I. and II. of England. It measures only three and three quarters inches in height, and is perforated at nearly uniform intervals with holes, as shown in the engraving. It is of rude unglazed earthenware, and unsymmetrical in form, as represented here.

Another class of relics found in considerable numbers at North Berwick, as well as in various other districts, are the small tobacco pipes, popularly known in Scotland by the name of *Celtic* or *Elfin pipes*, and in Ireland, where they are even more abundant, as *Danes' pipes*.

The popular names attached to them point to an era long prior to that of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Maiden Queen, or of the royal author of *A Counterblast to Tobacco*; and the objects along with which they have been discovered also seem occasionally to lead to similar conclusions, tempting to the opinion that the American weed was only introduced as a superior substitute for older narcotics. Hemp is still largely used in the East for this purpose; and the late Mr. C. K. Sharpe informed me that even in his younger days it was common for the old wives of Annandale to smoke a dried white moss gathered on the neighbouring moors, which they declared to be much *sweeter* than tobacco, and to have been in use before the American weed was heard of. But the at-



FIG. 220.—Elfin Pipe.

tention which the "Elfin Pipes" have attracted in recent years has sufficed to dissipate all ideas of their ante-Columbian antiquity; and it is no longer doubted that in their varying shapes and size may be traced the gradual transition from the earliest clay-pipes introduced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to those recovered in abundance on sites where the troops of William III. were encamped towards the close of the seventeenth century. In 1853, various specimens were dug up at Bonnington, near Edinburgh, along with a quantity of bodles or placks of James VI., affording a very trustworthy confirmation of their true date. The example engraved here, the size of the original, was obtained at North Berwick, among relics of very diverse periods; and like

others subsequently found on Roman and medieval sites, was well calculated to suggest the tempting idea that the luxury of a pipe was familiar to the eastern world before Columbus or Raleigh made known the virtues of the nicotian weed.

The ancient cemetery at North Berwick is in the vicinity of a small Romanesque building of the twelfth century, and close upon the sea-shore. Within the last fifty years the sea has made great encroachments, carrying off a considerable ruin, and exposing the skeletons of the old tenants of the cemetery, along with many interesting relics of former generations, at almost every spring tide. Notices of similar discoveries of the Elfin pipe occur in several of the Scottish Statistical Accounts under various circumstances, but equally suggestive of their belonging to a remote era; as in an ancient British encampment in the parish of Kirkmichael, Dumfriesshire, on the farm of Gilrig, where a number of pipes of burnt clay were dug up, with heads smaller than the modern tobacco-pipe, swelled at the middle and straiter at the top.¹ Again, in the vicinity of a group of standing-stones at Cairney Mount, in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, "a celt or stone hatchet; Elfin-bolts (flint and bone arrow-heads); Elfin pipes (pipes with remarkably small bowls); numerous coins of the Edwards, and of later date," are all recorded to have been found.² An example is also noted of the discovery of a tobacco pipe in sinking a pit for coal at Misk, in Ayrshire, after digging through many feet of sand.³ All those are pregnant with significant warnings of the necessity for cautious discrimination in determining the antiquity of such buried relics. The following description of a curious memorial of the luxury of the smoker would seem however to point

¹ *New Statist. Acc.* vol. iv. p. 71.

² *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 581.

³ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 430.

to a date much nearer the discovery of the New World by Columbus than the era of Raleigh's colonization of Virginia. The grim old Keep of Cawdor Castle, associated in defiance of chronology with King Duncan and Macbeth, is augmented, like the majority of such Scottish fortalices, by additions of the sixteenth century. In one of the apartments of this later erection, is a stone chimney, richly carved with armorial bearings and the grotesque devices common on works of the period. Among these are a mermaid playing the harp, a monkey blowing a horn, a cat playing a fiddle, and a fox smoking a tobacco-pipe. There can be no mistake as to the meaning of the last lively representation, and on the same stone is the date 1510: the year in which the wing of the castle is ascertained to have been built.¹

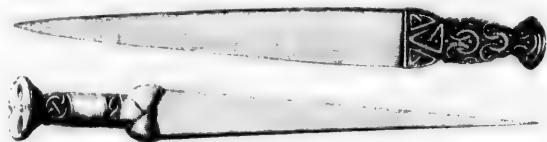


FIG. 210.—Ancient Highland Dirks.

The arms and armour are no less characteristic of the medieval than of earlier periods, and are not without minuter national details well worthy of note. There were indeed from the very commencement of the Scottish medieval period in the eleventh century, to the final disarming of the Highland clans in 1746, two completely diverse modes of warfare and military accoutrement prevailing in Scotland. The old Celtic population, occupying for the most part the Highland fastnesses, retained many of the usages of their forefathers under partially modified forms; and even in the decoration of their weapons and defensive armour preserved ancient details such as are still traceable on the Pictish monuments

¹ Carruthers' *Highland Note-Book*, p. 154.

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of Scotland. Many of the circular Highland targets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries present exactly the same interlaced knot-work as may be seen on the bosses and shafts of early crosses, and even on relics belonging to the last Pagan era ; while other combinations of this favourite Celtic pattern formed the universal decoration on the handle of the dirk, from the earliest known examples to those which are preserved among the memorials of Prestonpans and Culloden Moor. A mere glance,

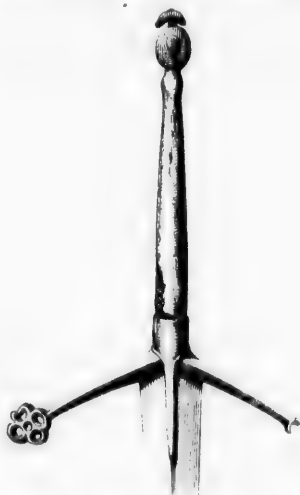


FIG. 231.—Ancient Claymore.



FIG. 232.—Hawthornden Sword.

however, at a few characteristic examples must suffice here ; and among these none is more noticeable than the old claymore with reversed guard, which is sculptured on so many of the ancient tombstones of Iona and of the Western Isles. In the portrait of James I. of Scotland, which accompanies the old folio edition of the Scots Acts, the king bears a weapon of this description. It occurs, however, on tombs of a much earlier period, and is now very rarely to be met with. One good small example is

in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries ; and another larger and very fine specimen, the handle of which is here engraved (Fig. 231), is in the valuable collection of Mr. W. B. Johnstone. The claymore is figured in the sculptures both of Iona and Oronsay with considerable variety of details. In some the blade is highly ornamented, and the handle varies in form, but all present the same characteristic, having the guards bent back towards the blade. A curious variety of this peculiar form is seen in a fine large two-handed sword (Fig. 232) preserved at Hawthornden, the celebrated castle of the Drummonds, where the Scottish poet entertained Ben Jonson during his visit to Scotland in 1619. It is traditionally affirmed to have been the weapon of Robert the Bruce, though little importance can be attached to a reputation which it shares with one-half the two handed swords still preserved. The handle appears to be made from the tusk of the narwhal, and it has four reverse-guards, as shown above. The object aimed at by this form of guard doubtless was to prevent the antagonist's sword from glancing off, and inflicting a wound ere he recovered his weapon ; and in the last example especially it seems peculiarly well adapted for the purpose. Among the curious collection of ancient weapons in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, is a sword the blade of which measures thirty-two and a half inches long, and has a waved edge, returned a short way over the back. It was discovered among the ruins of Bog-Hall Castle, near Biggar, Lanarkshire ; while the handle, which is made of the section of a deer's horn, and is even more remarkable than the blade, was found at a great depth in a morass, on the property of Sir Thomas G. Carmichael, Bart., in Tweeddale.

The later two-handed sword, though still so familiar to us, is one of the most characteristic of all the military

relics pertaining to the Medieval Period. The huge, ponderous, and unwieldy weapon, seems the fittest emblem that could be devised, of the rude baron, who lived by "the good old rule" of physical force, and whose hardy virtues—not unsuited to an illiterate age,—are strangely mistaken for the evidences of a chivalry such as later ages have not seen. Reasoning from this characteristic heirloom, as we have done from those of less-known periods, we discern in it the evidence of just such hardy, skillless, overbearing power, as history informs us was the character of the medieval baron, before the rise of the burgher class readjusted the social balance by the preponderance of rival interests. It has been usual, however, to assign the two-handed sword to an earlier period than can be sustained by evidence. The Swiss were long celebrated for their use of this formidable weapon; and it appears to have been held in no less favour by the Scots. Various cherished examples are preserved at Dumbarton and Kinfauns Castles, at Talyskir in the Isle of Raasay, at Dunrobin, Abbotsford, and in other public and private collections; associated with the names of Sir John Graham, Sir Simon Fraser, Wallace, the Bruce, and other heroes of the Scottish War of Independence. But archæological and documentary evidence are in vain appealed to in support of the fond traditions. It seems doubtful indeed if the two handed sword can be traced to a much earlier date than the middle of the fourteenth century. Sir Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, is described by Froissart, when withstanding the invasion of the English under Sir Thomas Musgrave, the Governor of Berwick, in 1378, as effectively wielding an immense sword, the blade of which was two ells long, and its weight such that scarcely another man could lift it from the ground.¹ But it is not till the following century that

¹ Froissart, *par Buchon*, vii. p. 37.

the two-handed sword becomes common : and thereafter it may be traced in references of increasing frequency, down to the sixteenth century. In 1507, the warlike Pope, Julius II., presented to James IV. the beautiful two-handed sword of state still preserved among the Scottish regalia in Edinburgh Castle ; and a singular entry recently brought to light by the printing of the " Inventory of the Regalia of James I. in the secrete jewel-house within the Tower of London," shows that his Holiness found a fitting occasion for presenting a similar gift to his English rival, King Henry VIII. It is there described as " one grete Twoe handed sworde garnysched wth sylver and guylt." ¹ But no such relic is now to be found among the treasures of the Royal Armory. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Spanish armourers became famous for their swords ; and the marks of the most celebrated Toledo sword-smiths appear on some beautiful weapons of this class. Mr. B. Homer Dixon, of the Homewood, Toronto, has collected there an extensive and valuable armory, such as the tourist looks upon with interest at Abbotsford, but could little anticipate on the shores of Lake Ontario. One fine two-handed sword in this collection, from the Castle of Segovia, a royal Spanish armory sacked by the Carlists, is stamped with a pair of antlers. Another, measuring seven feet in length, with a blade of five feet two inches, weighs fifteen pounds. The blade is engraved on both sides with the sacred I.N.R.I., and the motto ESPoir EN DIEV ET EN MES BRAS, and is stamped with the dog and a cross issuing out of a heart. Four other swords in the Homewood collection bear the stamp of *The Dog*, the mark of the famous armorer Julian del Ree, a Moor of Toledo, called El Perillo. But the same mark was subsequently adopted by a Solingen sword-smith, and

¹ *Kalendar and Inventories of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 306.

probably by others. On one of the above swords it is

accompanied with the date A.D. 1515; but the oldest examples of the Dog's-head blades are fully a century earlier. The weapon figured here is a fine specimen of the old Scottish two-handed sword, now in the possession of George Seton, Esq., representative of the Setons of Caristen. It measures forty-nine inches in the blade, five feet nine inches in entire length, and weighs seven and a half pounds. The interest which secured the preservation of this venerable relic is chiefly due to traditions which have long associated it with the memory of Sir Christopher Seton of that ilk, from whom some of the oldest scions of the Scottish Peerage have been proud to trace their descent. He was married to Christian, sister of King Robert the Bruce, whom he bravely defended at the battle of Methven. He was shortly after taken prisoner by Edward I., and basely hanged as a traitor. "So dear to King Robert



FIG. 231. Seton sword.

was the memory of this faithful friend and fellow-warrior, that he afterwards erected on the spot where he was executed a little chapel, where mass was said for his soul.¹ The little oratory has long since disappeared; but younger generations have fondly perpetuated his name in connexion with a memorial of obsolete warfare, in the use of which the Scottish swordsmen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were peculiarly expert.

Among recent additions to the Scottish collection is a specimen of another remarkable weapon, which possesses undoubted historical value, and may be associated with more confidence with the great victory of Robert the Bruce than the two-handed sword, or most of the other

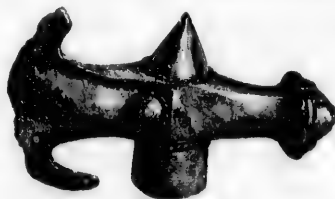


FIG. 234.—Bannockburn Battle Axe.

relics that bear his name. It consists of the head of a battle-axe, of iron, coated with bronze, which is figured here. It was discovered in draining the morass at Bannockburn in 1785, and is considerably broken on the edge, evidently from its use upon the mailed panoply of the gallant knights who fought in that hard-stricken field. It measures eight and a quarter inches in length, and four and three quarters in height, from the point to the insertion of the haft.

Some remarkable pieces of ancient artillery figure in Scottish history, one or two of which have escaped the perils of siege and the waste of time, though the most of them live only in the quaint records of Scottish

¹ Tytler, third edition, vol. i. p. 229; Robertson's Index, pp. 135-38.

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chroniclers, like the famed Seven Sisters, cast by Robert Borthwick, the master-gunner of James IV., which did their last Scottish service on Flodden Field. A better fate has attended the still more celebrated Mons Meg, whose unwieldy proportions probably proved her safety, by inducing the impetuous king to leave her behind, when he carried the flower of Scottish chivalry to that fatal field. The ancient barrier gateway of Edinburgh Castle, built most probably soon after the siege of 1572, was surmounted with a curious piece of sculpture, occupying a long narrow panel, which is chiefly filled with representations of artillery and munitions of war, and among those Mons Meg plays a prominent part. The old-fashioned narrow wheel-carriages of the sixteenth

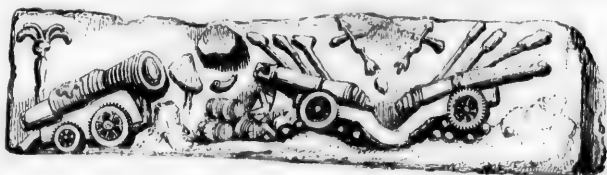


FIG. 235.—Sculpture, Edinburgh Castle. Mons Meg.

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century having given place to more substantial modern artillery waggons, the highly ornamental but narrow gateway was demolished in the beginning of the present century, and one-half of its sculptured panel, figured here, now surmounts the entrance to the Ordnance Office in the Castle. At the left side is the famed Mons Meg—or, as she is designated in the list of ordnance delivered to Monk, on the surrender of the Castle in 1650, "*The great iron murderer, Muckle Meg*," mounted, in all probability, on her "new cradill, with xiii stane of iron graith," which, as we learn from the Treasurer's accounts, was provided in 1497, not long after her safe return from the siege of Dumbarton Castle. This remarkable piece of ordnance is not cast like a modern cannon, but

built of wrought-iron hoops and bars, or staves, and with a narrow fixed chamber in the breach for containing the charge. It appears to be of enormous strength; but after doing good service for upwards of two centuries, both in peace and war, it burst on the 29th October 1680, when firing a salute in honour of James, Duke of York, on his arrival in Edinburgh: an occurrence which, as Fountainhall records, failed not to be regarded as an evil omen. This mode of fashioning artillery with separate staves and hoops is the oldest method of which we have any account, and was probably universally employed on the first introduction of gunpowder in constructing what our old Scottish poet, Barbour, designates, in the earliest known allusion to field artillery, *crakys of war*. This curious reference of the old metrical historian is to the first expedition of Edward III. against the Scots in 1327, and consequently may be accepted as fixing the precise date of the introduction of artillery into Scotland:

"Twa noweltyeis that dai thai saw,
That forouth in Scotland had been nane;
Tymmriss for helmys were the tane,
That t'other crakys wer of war,
That thai before heard never er:
Of thai tua things thai had ferly
That nycht thai walkyt stalwartly."

Among the specimens of ancient pieces of ordnance in the Scottish Museum is a curious pair of cannons, built in a similar manner to Mons Meg, with hoops and staves of iron, bound with copper, measuring each twenty-nine inches in length, and designed for mounting on one stock. This double cannon was formerly stationed on the walls of Wemyss Castle, Fifeshire, and is said to have belonged to the celebrated Scottish admiral, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo. Double guns of the same description, mounted on one carriage, are figured in the

beautifully illuminated MSS. of Froissart, believed to have been executed about the beginning of the fifteenth century. They are also shown on wheel carriages among the Scottish artillery at the battle of Pinkie in a very curious print belonging to the Bannatyne Club, entitled, "*The Englishe victore agaynste the Schottes, by Muskelbroghe, 1547.*" Another piece of ancient artillery in the Scottish collection consists of a still more complicated group of cannons of similar construction, four being mounted on one carriage, and the whole united by an iron rod at the breach. They are evidently designed to be fired at once, so as to discharge a broadside on the enemy; and however tardy and inconvenient the reloading of these pieces may have been, the first broadside from a park of such artillery must have had no slight effect on an advancing foe.

The second half of the curious sculptured memorial of ancient Scottish artillery in Edinburgh, divorced from the group which includes Mons Meg, on the demolition of the barrier gateway in 1800, lay long neglected and buried in rubbish. It was at length rescued from impending destruction, and safely lodged in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. It includes a singular group of ancient ordnance and warlike appliances: chamber pieces or patereros, with chambers or movable breaches, frequently used separately for throwing small shot; bombards, chiefly employed for throwing great stones; a curious hexagonal cannon of large proportions, constructed, it may be presumed, of separate bars; hand-cannons, or the earliest class of portable fire-arms; with lintstocks, shot, barrels of powder, etc. Along with those are also large guns of symmetrical form, which may be presumed to represent brass cannon: as the art of casting cannon was introduced at a much earlier period than the date suggested for the rebuilding of the

barrier gateway, though it is by no means improbable that the sculpture may have belonged to a still older structure. Cannon are said to have been cast even in the middle of the fourteenth century ;¹ and a brass cannon is still preserved at Toulouse, made in the year 1438.

One other class of relics, singularly characteristic of medieval customs and civilisation, includes the instruments both of punishment and of torture, of which Scotland may lay claim to the questionable boast of having some peculiarly national examples. At a period when criminal punishment avowedly assumed the character of retaliation and revenge, and when torture was recognised as a legitimate means of eliciting evidence, Scotland was not behind other countries of Europe in the full use of both. One of the most curious historical relics of this class is the Maiden, now in the Scottish Museum. It was employed, so far as appears, for the first time in the execution of some of the inferior agents in the assassination of Rizzio. By this instrument were beheaded the Regent Morton, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, President Spottiswoode, the Marquis and Earl of Argyle, and many more of the noblest and best blood in Scotland. The Earl of Argyle, when stepping on the scaffold, and preparing to lay his head on the block, is reported to have said, with a grave humour worthy of Sir Thomas More : It was the sweetest maiden he had ever kissed. It now forms one of the most remarkable national relics in the Scottish Museum : having, it may be presumed, performed its last office as the instrument of death. The Boots and Thumbkins, as instruments of judicial torture, are specially associated in Scotland with the sufferings of the Covenanters during the reign of Charles II. Neither of them, however, were invented so

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. v. ; *Ibid.* vol. xxviii. pp. 383, 385.

recently. Torture, which the Roman law permitted only to be used in compelling the evidence of slaves, bore no such limitation in medieval Europe ; and the name of *the Question*, commonly applied to it, abundantly shows the direct purpose for which it was employed. Examples of this barbarous mode of seeking to elicit the truth are frequently to be met with in the earlier Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session : as in a case of suspected perjury, 29th June 1579, where the King's Advocate produces a royal warrant for examining "Johne Souttar, notar, dwelland in Dundee, and Robert Carmyle, vicar of Ruthwenis, witnes in the action of improbatioun of

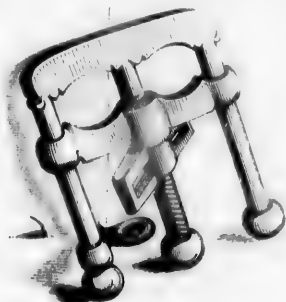


FIG. 236. Thumbklaus, Scot. Antiq. Museum.

ane reversioun of the lands of Wallace-Craigy ; and for the mair certane tryall of the veritie in the said matter, to put them in the buttis, genis, or any uther tormentis, and thairby to urge them to declair the treuth." One pair of thumb-screws in the Scottish Museum, of unusually large size, is said to have been the instrument employed by the authorities of the ancient burgh of Montrose for eliciting confession. A ruder pair, of peculiar form, in the Abbotsford collection, is figured in the illustrated edition of the *Waverley Novels*.¹

The Scottish JOUGS and BRANKS are old instruments

¹ *Abbotsford Edition*, vol. ii. p. 24.



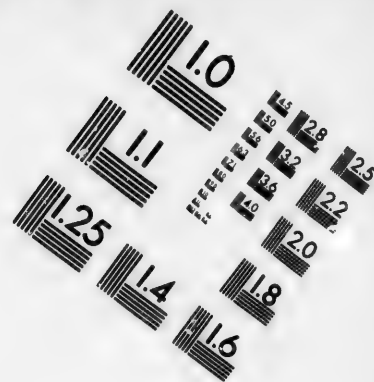
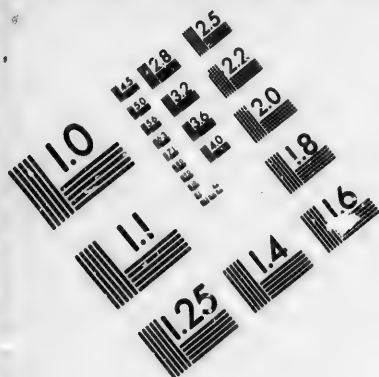
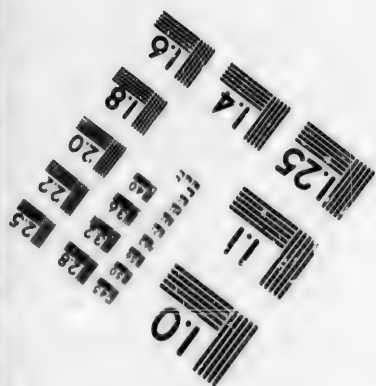
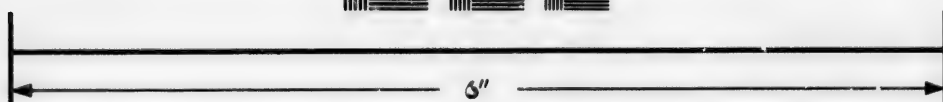
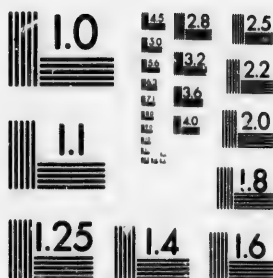


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of punishment, popularly associated, for the most part, with judicial visitations of a less revolting character than those previously referred to, though not altogether free from sterner associations. The joughs, which consist of an iron collar attached by a chain to a pillar or tree, form the corresponding Scottish judicial implement to the English stocks: applied, however, not to the legs or arms, but to the neck. They are still to be met with attached to the porch of our older village churches, or occasionally to some venerable tree in the surrounding churchyard: their application having been most frequently reserved in the olden time for the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. But perhaps one of the most curious memorials of their extended use is the *Clach-abrangais*, or Branks Stone, a large unhewn monolith on the shores of Loch Sunart, Argyleshire, in which the broken staple of the iron branks still remains; though the grey and weathered standing-stone was doubtless the memorial of older deeds than those of the Highland chief who converted it to its later use in carrying out



FIG. 257.—Joughs, Applegirth. completely imbedded in its trunk, while the chain and staple hung down within the decayed and hollow core. The more usual form of the joughs is simply

a flat iron collar with distended loops, through which a padlock was passed to secure the culprit in his ignominious durance. Along with this may be mentioned a singular and probably unique relic of old Scottish judicature, preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, to which it was presented in 1784. It consists of the brass collar of a Scottish slave of the eighteenth century, thus inscribed :—

ALEXR. STEUART, FOUND GUILTY OF DEATH FOR
THEFT, AT PERTH, THE 5TH OF DECEMBER 1701,
AND GIFTED BY THE JUSTICIARS AS A PERPETUAL
SERVANT TO SIR JOHN ARESKINE OF ALVA.

This curious badge of slavery was dredged up in the Firth of Forth, so that it seems sufficiently probable the unhappy victim may have chosen death in preference to the doom from which there was no other release. Three others were condemned at the same time to perpetual servitude, as appears from the judicial deeds of gift recovered in relation to two of them, issued by the Commissioners of Justiciary of the south district, for securing the peace of the Highlands.

The second, Donald M'Donald, was bestowed on John Earl of Tullibardine.¹ The marauding Highlander was thus regarded by his Saxon neighbour, so recently as the eighteenth century, much in the same light as the colonists of the Cape, or the settlers on the American prairies, look on the aborigines whom they displace; and such ideas remained little affected by all the changes wrought on the Lowland Saxon, until the final overthrow of the clans on Culloden Moor abruptly broke the traditions of many centuries.

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Perth.* A copy of deed of gift of Alexander Steuart, in the possession of the late Alexander Macdonald, Esq., was in nearly the same terms.

The BRANKS, another Scottish instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, was chiefly employed for the coercion of female scolds, and those adjudged guilty of slander and defamation. It may be described as a skeleton iron helmet, having a gag of the same metal, which entered the mouth and effectually *brankit* that unruly member, the tongue.¹ It is an instrument of considerable antiquity, and has probably not unfrequently been employed for purposes of great cruelty; though in most examples the gag is not designed to wound the mouth, but only to hold down the tongue.

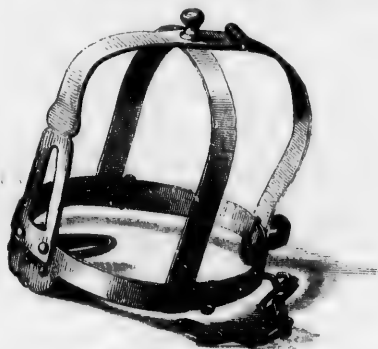


FIG. 233.—The Branks, Morny House.

In the Burgh Records of Glasgow, for example, under date of April 1574, "Marione Smyt and Margaret Huntare" having quarrelled, they appear, and produce two cautioners or sureties, "pat pai sal abstene fra stryking of utheris in tyme cuming, under þe pane of x lib, and gif thai flyte to be *brankit*."² One very complete specimen still preserved at St. Mary's Church, St. Andrews, is popularly known as the Bishop's Branks, and is usually said to have been fixed on the head of Patrick Hamilton

¹ To *brank*, to bridle or restrain.—Jamieson. *Branks* also signifies a horse's bridle and bit, formed generally of a rude halter or stick.

² *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, p. 7.

and of others of the early Scottish martyrs who perished at the stake during the religious persecution of James v.'s reign. This tradition, however, is not borne out by history in the case of Hamilton, and is probably the addition of a later age, though the instrument may possibly have supplied both Archbishop and Cardinal Beaton with a ready means of restraining less confirmed recusants, and thereby nipping the new heresy in the bud. But the real origin of its present title is to be traced to the use of it in much more recent times, by Archbishop Sharp, for silencing the scandal which an unruly dame promulgated openly against him before the congregation. Another specimen, engraved above (Fig. 238), was dis-



FIG. 239.—Witch's Bridle, Forfar.

covered, in 1848, behind the oak panelling in one of the rooms of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, in the Canongate, Edinburgh. Some few years since the frightful instrument represented above (Fig. 239) was preserved in the old steeple, and still remains in safe custody in the County Hall at Forfar, where it bears the name of the *Witch's Branks* or *Bridle*. It is described in the Old Statistical Account of Forfar parish as the bridle with which the wretched victims of superstition were led to execution. The field, it is added, where they suffered is pointed out to strangers as a place of curious interest. The date 1661 is punched on the

circle, along with what seems to read ANGUS s.¹ The object aimed at in applying so dreadful a gag to those who were condemned to the stake, as guilty of witchcraft and dealing with the devil, was not so much the purposed cruelty which its use necessarily involved, as to prevent the supposed possessors of such unearthly gifts from pronouncing the potent formula by means of which it was implicitly believed they could transform themselves at will to other shapes, or transport themselves where they pleased, and thus effectually outwit their tormentors. It furnishes a melancholy index of the barbarism which prevailed in our own country at so very recent a period, that educated men could be found to give credit to such follies; or that even among the most illiterate and rude, executioners could be enlisted to apply to a woman an instrument the very picture of which is calculated to excite a shudder.

It would not be difficult to add to those common instruments of punishment, others equally characteristic of the spirit of the age, though not brought into such general use. Registers of various kirk-sessions recently printed by the Abbotsford Club, the Spottiswoode Society, and other Scottish literary book-clubs, disclose much curious evidence of the cruelty too frequently exercised by such courts in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, most frequently by means little calculated to promote reformation or good morals. In those, however, as in the traces of earlier manners which we have sought to recover, the historian finds a key to the character of the age to which they belong, and indications of its degree of advancement in civilisation, such as no contemporary historian could furnish. They supply elements for comparing the present with the past, no less available than the rude pottery and the implements

¹ Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 686.

of flint or bone which reveal to us the simple arts of aboriginal races. The great difference in point of value between the two classes of relics is, that those more recent indices of obsolete customs furnish only an additional element wherewith to test and to supplement the invaluable records which the printing press supplies, while the latter are the sole chronicles we possess of ages more intimately associated with our human sympathies than all the geological periods of the preadamite earth.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

IN the two previous chapters, as well as in that devoted to medieval ecclesiology, some of the later exemplars of Scottish arts and civilisation have been glanced at, coeval with many authentic historical documents, to which the researches of the antiquary can only add supplementary illustrations. Those, however, though legitimately included in the compass of archæological investigations, do not strictly come within the plan of this work, except in so far as they suffice to illustrate the remarkable contrast between the Antiquities of Primitive and Medieval periods ; until at length the progressive achievements of many generations are seen retracing old footprints ; and the revival of learning, which is marked in one age by the abandonment of medieval art for models of classic antiquity, is found in another rejecting the arts of Greece and Rome for those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus will the buried memorials of modern times exhibit to future ages the strange confusion of successive revivals : the classic art of the sixteenth, and the medieval art of the nineteenth century, overlying the true memorials of Roman and Gothic workmanship, and puzzling the future antiquary, like the modern Pallas Armata dug up near the old Antonine wall-castle of Kirkintilloch in 1786, and cherished among the Roman treasures of the Scottish Antiquaries. Viewing Archæology as one of the most essential means for the

elucidation of primitive history, it has been employed here partly in an attempt to trace out the annals of Scotland prior to that comparatively recent medieval period at which the boldest of our historians have ventured to begin. The researches of the ethnologist carry us back somewhat beyond that epoch, and confirm many of those conclusions, especially in relation to the close affinity between the native arts and Celtic races of Scotland and Ireland, at which we have arrived



FIG. 240.—Pallas Armata.

by means of archæological evidence. Of the six Celtic dialects known, either as living languages or preserved in books, the Irish and the Scottish Gaelic most nearly approximate, the former being to a great extent only a more cultivated form of the common tongue. The Manx, though pertaining to the same subdivision, differs considerably from both; illustrating the effects of isolation in the development of those changes by which dialects of a common speech are gradually transformed into mutually unintelligible languages. Again, the several Cymric dia-

lects of the ancient Britons, including, along with the Welsh and Cornish, the Armorican, differ essentially from all those ; while curious traces, in local names and other indices, mark the former presence of the Gael in the south, and of the Cymric Briton on northern areas. In all these respects the conclusions of the ethnologist receive not only confirmation, but much minute elucidation, from archæological research. But we have found from many independent sources of evidence that the primeval history of Britain must be sought for in the annals of older races than the Celtæ, and in the remains of a people of whom we have as yet no reason to believe that any philological traces are discoverable : though these may still exist mingled with later dialects, and especially in the topographical nomenclature, adopted and modified, but in all likelihood not entirely superseded by later colonists. With the earliest intelligible indices of that primeval colonization of the British Isles our archæological records begin, mingling their dim historic chronicles with the last giant traces of elder worlds ; and, as an essentially independent element of historical research, they terminate at the point where the isolation of Scotland ceases by its being embraced into the unity of medieval Christendom.

The subdivisions indicated in this archæological history are by no means peculiar to Scotland. The isolation of the elder nations was universal prior to the diffusion of Christianity. Egypt, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Judea, Greece, Carthage, and even Rome, each stood solitary amid its vast conquests. It was reserved for the Popedom—that great fact of medieval history,—to create a unity by means of which the isolation of nations was overcome without the sacrifice of their individuality. But that also was no final stage in the world's history ; and though the shadow of Papal supremacy still lingers as

a medieval relic which has outlived its use, time has developed better elements of unity, in harmony with the true spirit of modern nationality. In nothing is the practical character of modern scientific discovery and mechanical skill—the steam-engine, the railway, the electric telegraph,—more apparent than in its antagonism to the antiquated isolation of the nations. Between the modern and ancient periods, the medieval era interposes as a long stage of transition in which the transforming influences of the new faith were changing the whole social fabric, and moulding it into higher forms. But, as those things of the past have made way for the time which is : so too must it give place, as a transition time and the precursor of a still brighter future. The world itself is a transition stage, and all sublunary things are but the preparatives for a mightier futurity. Viewed as a part of the great cosmical history of which geology has recovered so many chapters, the labours of the archæologist seem to add but a few stray leaves. The strata of the earth's crust, deep as we can penetrate, or lofty as we may climb, are filled with the evidences of the organic life of preadamite orders of being ; but notwithstanding all that geology has recently done to extend the antiquity of man, it is still only in the latest diluvial superficies that we detect those traces which thus announce him as but of yesterday. If, however, the isolated individuality of the elder nations of the world's history confers on each of them an interest which we seek for in vain in those of the medieval era of transition : man also has a peculiar individuality which gives a value to the most perishable relics he casts behind him in his brief lifetime. To the geologist one perfect example is a certain type of its species, and hence a complete geological collection is a conceivable thing ; but it is not so with the labours of the archæologist. He aims

at recovering a clue to the esoteric no less than to the exoteric indices of past generations, and sees in each varied relic the product of human thought, invention, and intelligent design. Each human being of all the past ages had a personality and a destiny which give to whatever traces may be recoverable of him an interest for all time. Minutest variations may be the fruits and evidence of a mental labour never repeated; and each device of fancy or caprice may contain a clue to the character of the individual mind: a reflex, as it were, of the individuality and the psychical physiognomy of its originator. If we except, indeed, the treasures of the numismatist,—which are, strictly speaking, a branch of written history,—there are no true duplicates in the collections of the archæologist. His researches are conducted in a boundless field, since their novelty is as inexhaustible as the phases of human thought; and, while thus reviewing his own study as a branch of human knowledge, and asserting for it its just place among the Sciences, he is little likely to overestimate the dignity of a pursuit which embraces within its aim the primal history of man.

Some modern naturalists scanning the records of earlier Creation, have been tempted to trace the development of higher organizations, as a mere embryonic life passing by some innate or self-generated law of vitality from the foetal and immature to more perfect states of being; rather than as successive ideas of the Divine Creator thought out into a recorded actuality. Nevertheless there are those among the acutest students of nature, who can still recognise the creative power in each distinct embryonic organization and every manifestation of the lower nature of a preliminary and imperfect dispensation. These are literal types, but they also point onward from the first days in that uterine week

of Creation when the Spirit of God moved on the face of the deep, and the formless and the void became instinct with successive orders of being, until at length man was made in the Divine image. Into the original moral condition of that most perfect fruit of Creation it is not our province here to enter. Archæology, in a peculiar sense, deals with man mortal, not immortal : with man only as the seeker out of "many inventions;" and as such he too appears, like the elder offspring of Creation, in an embryonic state, from which we follow him onward step by step until we recognise in the present a harvest of all the past. The Archaic Period presents, indeed, as one of its most peculiar characteristics, the abundance of native gold ; but the true GOLDEN AGE OF MAN lies before him, not behind. Some nations do indeed appear from the very dawn of their history possessed of a singularly developed civilisation. But such was indispensable to the existence of any history not purely mythical or archæological ; while in the very oldest of them we discover also the traces of an earlier embryonic period through which they have passed.

A general system of Archæology remains as yet a desideratum. Egypt stands alone in its strange old civilisation, as if, Minerva-like, it had sprung forth at once a maiden nation, endowed with arts, polity, and an organized social system. But even its unwritten history, we have seen, retains the traces of an antehistoric Stone Period : a childhood in common with the world's younger commonwealths. Heretofore, however, the infancy of nations has been, for the most part, contentedly left in the wrappages of their first swaddling myths. Of Asia our knowledge of its primitive archæology is only by means of the merest fragmentary and isolated data, which can piece into no coherent system. India and China reveal much that illustrates the maturity

of an elder and superseded period, but nothing as yet that takes hold of the beginnings of things. Nineveh and Babylon have recently yielded up strange and most interesting records of the past ; but the more minutely we investigate these, the less reason we find for imagining that they pertain to the infancy of Asiatic nations. The primeval archæology of Asia remains yet to be explored. It must not be sought for among the deserted scenes of barbaric pomp and oriental magnificence, on the banks of the Tigris or the Euphrates : but in the northern steppes, and on the less hospitable heights, and in the outlying valleys which skirt the seats of elder empire. There truths of the deepest importance in relation to the history of man still lie recorded in undeciphered annals ; and there may we hope to find the types which have been repeated, with endless variations, by later wanderers, not only into Europe, but throughout the diverse regions of the New World. Of another chapter in the progress of man, bearing more directly on the elucidation of the ante-historical period of Europe—that of the north-western migration from central Asia,—a comprehensive general system of Archæology has yet much to reveal. We owe to the Asiatic researches of Humboldt a clear understanding of the systems of mountain chains, both of Europe and Asia, which have exercised so important an influence on the distribution of the entire Fauna of the two continents. A remarkable simplicity of structure is discernible in the arrangement of the continuous lines of greatest elevation, which strikingly coincides with the traces we can recover of the route pursued by successive nomadic waves of population which have passed from Asia to Europe. These chains of abrupt elevation, which appear to have served as natural tracts, within the defined limitations of which the nomade races were urged onward by as

natural a law as the river is borne seaward in its channel, are composed of four great systems of mountains, almost uniformly directed from west to east, and parallel with the greatest length of the continent. These are the Altai, the Thian-shan, the Kuen lun, and the Himalaya. A glance at the map of Asia shows with singular precision the courses of continuous migration: the localities where mountain barriers arrested for a time some portion of the migrating nomades, as in the eddies of a stream, and the vast yet isolated steppes in which they may be assumed to have settled down for ages, and become the centres of later migratory offshoots, tending ever to the north-east. Tracing again the influence of the geographical features of the old world at the imaginary line of separation between Europe and Asia, we discern the physical causes of known historical facts. We see the inevitable course of the first patriarchal tribes, from the table-land of Iran and the great Asiatic peninsulas beyond, directly to Asia Minor and the narrow Straits of the Dardanelles; while the table-land of Syria and Arabia is shut in to the western shores of Palestine, the seat of Tyre and of Judea. Northward of this the Caspian Sea seems placed as it were to exclude the wanderers for a time from their final settlements. South of it a narrow shore appears to be the appointed channel by which one early stream passed along the continuous line of the Kuen-lun chain to the base of the Caucasus, and from thence reached the ancient scenes of Pelasgian colonization. But it is by the wider gorge, to the north of the Caspian Sea, that the great nomadic tide must have flowed; while we see there the Ural chain stretching southward to limit the European portal of colonization, and to arrest and detain the wanderers who pursued a more northerly course. Herein, therefore, may be discovered the geographical elements in which important

ethnological distinctions have had their rise, while at the same time the archæologist discovers therein additional motives for pursuing his researches into the primitive antiquities of the great northern Asiatic steppes, where the true key to the sources of European archæology has yet to be sought.

Of this comprehensive system of antehistorical research the Archæology of Scotland forms the merest fractional item. It is indispensable, however, for the integrity of the whole; and as I believe that it is not at Babylon or Nimrud, but in the northern steppes of Asia, that the primeval history of the elder continent must be sought; so also it is not in the annals of Greece or Rome, or in the antiquities of the most ancient historical regions, modified by their arts and arms; but in Ireland, Scotland, in the Scandinavian countries, and in Switzerland: that we may hope to recover the unadulterated first chapters of European history. The precise conclusions to which we have been led, in relation to Scottish Archæology, are such as amply accord with this idea. The Celtæ, we have seen reason to believe, are by no means to be regarded as the primal heirs of the land, but are on the contrary comparatively recent intruders. Ages before their migration into Europe, unknown Allophylian races had wandered to this remote island of the sea, and they in their turn gave place to later nomades, also destined to occupy it only for a time. Of those antehistorical nations Archæology reveals the traces. Hitherto both the historian and the ethnologist have ascribed their remains to the later Celtæ, the first historical race of Northern Europe: introducing thereby confusion and cumulative error into all reasoning on their data. Those elements of history can only be rectified and properly adjusted when the primitive archæology of the various countries of Europe has been sifted and treated

in detail. We need not doubt that an abundant phalanx of workers will ere long be found enlisted in this interesting field of research. The mere gathering of curious rarities commanded but a limited sympathy, while their possession was the sole end to be attained, and the gratification of an impassive acquisitiveness superseded the search for truth. The fossil encrinite or the "witch bead"¹ was equally singular and valueless, so long as it was merely an incomprehensible *lusus nature*. But when it came to be recognised as the index to the history of a whole genus of radiated polypes, both recent and fossil, it was taken from the novelties of the curiosity-hunter, and permanently classified among the illustrations of natural science. It would be easy to show why it is that we have been slower in turning to account the no less manifest illustrations of the history of man. Some sources of this tardy recognition of their value have already been glanced at; but it is sufficient that we are now learning to discover their true use, and are at length aiming at the recovery of a just view of man as a rational and immortal creature, by means of the perishable trappings which he throws off behind him, in his passage across this probationary stage of being. We are all conscious of passionate longings after a knowledge of the past, no less than of an instinctive desire to search into the future. Man "looks before and after;" he feels himself no isolated being, but one link in a vast chain, the ends of which stretch away immeasurably into the past and the future; and while he discovers in preadamite periods of creation a preparatory dispensation, he recognises in his own period a more perfect one, not because he conceives it to

¹ *Witch beads, Fairy beads, St. Cuthbert's beads*, are all names by which the *Entrochi*, or joints which compose the stem of the *Encrinite* or *Stone Lily*, are popularly known in various districts of Scotland and the north of England.

be final, but because he knows it to be probationary, and the preliminary to that which is perfect. Thus, by thoughts in which the antiquary dwells on the yet undeveloped designs of the Ancient of Days, a new dignity and sacredness become apparent in pursuits which not the ignorant only have deemed puerile and worthless. To him they are means for the recovery of lost links in that chain by which such mighty truths depend. He looks upon the shadowy past by the clearer light of the future; and while the revelation of "life and immortality" adds a new force to his convictions of the unity which pervades creation, and is manifested in Providence, it also stimulates with a more lively energy his desire to lay hold upon "the evidence of things not seen."

[CHAP. XI.

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INDEX.

INDEX.

- ABBEVILLE, i. 29.
 Aberbrothoc Abbey, ii. 416.
 Aberdeen, Old: the Cathedral of St. Machar, ii. 428.
 Aberdeenshire, i. 57, 75, 79, 103, 104, 107, 132, 159, 162, 188, 192, 195, 209, 222, 224, 252, 272, 313, 344, 394, 417, 423, 426, 434, 443, 448, 473; ii. 91, 114, 120, 140, 161, 212, 262, 471.
 Aberlemno Stone, ii. 232, 244.
 Abernethy, Parish of, i. 171, 194.
 Abernethy Round Tower, ii. 375.
 Aboriginal traces, i. 41.
 Achir-na-Kyle, Burgh of, ii. 103.
 Achnacreebeg, i. 94.
 Adair, John, the Geographer, ii. 358.
 Adder-beads, i. 447, 449.
 Adder Stone, i. 197; ii. 126.
 African Ring Money, i. 455.
 Agriculture, Primitive, i. 296, 490.
 Airswood Moss, ii. 88.
 Alauna Fluvius, ii. 53.
 Albaio Duan, i. 168.
 Albanich, ii. 177.
 Albion, ii. 177.
 Alefrida, Cross of, ii. 330.
 Aldus M'Galdus, i. 187.
 Ale, River, i. 126.
 Alexander I., ii. 406.
 Alexander II., ii. 282.
 Alexander III., ii. 407, 412.
 Almond, River, ii. 64.
 Alloa, ii. 216.
 Allophyllæ, i. 238.
 Alvie, Parish of, i. 121, 200.
 Amber, i. 448.
 Amber Beads, i. 448.
 Ambries, ii. 441.
 Amiens, i. 29.
 Amulets, ii. 315, 331.
 Amusements, ii. 334.
 Analyses of Bronzes, i. 367, 374.
 Analyses of Bones, i. 241.
 Ancrum, i. 126.
 Anglo-Saxons, i. 84, 155; ii. 175, 316.
 Anglo-Saxon Architecture, ii. 364.
 Anglo-Saxon Barrows, ii. 155.
 Anglo-Saxon Coins, ii. 131, 132.
 Anglo-Saxon Relics, ii. 316.
 Anglo-Saxon Runes, ii. 319.
 Angus MacFergus, ii. 181.
 Angusshire, ii. 216, 222, 231, 233, 523.
 Animal-shaped Sacred Vessels, ii. 307.
 Annan Street Stone, i. 482.
 Annandale, ii. 11, 68, 88, 89, 157, 315.
 Annular Ornament, ii. 136.
 Antonine Wall, ii. 27, 38.
 Antoninus, Gold Coin of, ii. 31.
 Anwoth, ii. 219.
 Anwoth Parish, ii. 300.
 Applecross, i. 142.
 Applegirth, Jongs of, ii. 518.
 Arbuthnot Collection, i. 76, 224, 434.
 Archaic, the Definition, i. 494.
 Architecture, Historic, ii. 85.
 Architecture, Medieval, ii. 412.
 Ardehatten, Cromlech at, i. 94.
 Ardersier Point, i. 392.
 Ardnadam, i. 94.
 Ardoch Camp, i. 52; ii. 27.
 Ardvoirich, Stone of, i. 198.
 Argyleshire, i. 91, 94, 100, 103, 106, 127, 142, 162, 177, 184, 187, 289, 381,

- 390, 396, 455, 461, 491; ii. 248, 356, 367, 461, 518, etc.
 Armagh, Bell of, ii. 464.
 Armlet, Bronze, ii. 139.
 Armillæ, Bronze, ii. 137.
 Armillæ, Gold, i. 331, 413, 452, 465; ii. 107, 250.
 Armillæ, Silver, ii. 131, 259.
 Armour, Bronze, ii. 399.
 Arms, Medieval, ii. 508.
 Arran, i. 94, 126, 142, 458.
 Arrow-heads, Flint, i. 50, 76.
 Artificially flattened Crania, i. 271.
 Artillery, Ancient, ii. 513, 515.
 Arthur's Dog, i. 95.
 Arthur, King, ii. 317, 489.
 Arthur Seat, i. 351, 492.
 Arthur's Oon, ii. 35, 369.
 Asiatic Antiquities, i. 331; ii. 20.
 Asterabad Tumulus, i. 317.
 Athelstane, ii. 317, 443.
 Auchindavy, ii. 37.
 Auchterhouse, Parish of, i. 109.
 Auld Wives' Lift, i. 93.
 Auldearn, Witches of, i. 179.
 Aurignac, Sepulchral Cave at, i. 29.
 Avebury, i. 62, 139, 149; ii. 9.
 Axe-blades, i. 381.
 Axes, Stone, i. 193.
 Ayrshire, i. 46, 171, 200, 344, 349, 398, 402, 441, 462, 480; ii. 87, 501, 502, 505.
 BACHULL MORE, ii. 478.
 Badenoch, ii. 91.
 Baer, Prof. V., i. 236.
 Baldernoch, Parish of, i. 87.
 Ballachulish, i. 142.
 Ballindalloch, ii. 153.
 Ball, Flint, i. 188.
 Balls, Stone, i. 194.
 Balmaclellan, Parish of, ii. 336.
 Banchory, ii. 471.
 Banchory-Devenick, Parish of, i. 176, 252, 257, 419.
 Banffshire, i. 182, 199, 200, 272, 331, 417, 425, 457.
 Bannockburn, Field of, ii. 511.
 Barcly, Moor of, i. 87.
 Barmekyn of Echt, ii. 91.
 Barnkirk, Moss of, i. 45.
 Barrach, ii. 127.
 Barrows, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 155.
 Barrows, Classification of Scottish, i. 66.
 Barrows, Classification of English, i. 64.
 Barry Hill, ii. 233.
 Barry, Dr. G., i. 113, 116, 191, 199, 220, 262.
 Bateman, T., i. 253, 259, 263, 442.
 Battle-Axe, Ancient, ii. 511.
 Battle-Axe, or Bill, ii. 125.
 Baulks, i. 492.
 Bead Stones, i. 219; ii. 338.
 Beaded Torc, i. 410; ii. 140.
 Beads, Glass, i. 446, 450; ii. 117.
 Beads of Shale, i. 435, 443.
 Bear, Cave, i. 30, 122.
 Beaton, Cardinal, ii. 438, 447, 522.
 Beaully, Firth of, i. 91.
 Beaver, i. 31, 33, 248.
 Bede, ii. 191, 375.
 Bee-Hive Houses, i. 121; ii. 35.
 Belgæ, i. 278.
 Belhelvie, Parish of, i. 177, 417.
 Bellenden's Boece, i. 30.
 Bell, Guthrie, ii. 470.
 Bell, Hume Castle, ii. 467.
 Bell, Kilmichael-Glassrie, ii. 461.
 Bell, Kingoldrum, ii. 473.
 Bell, Perthshire, ii. 466.
 Bell of Armagh, ii. 464.
 Bell of St. Barry, ii. 469.
 Bell of St. Columba, ii. 462.
 Bell of St. Fillan, ii. 472, 473.
 Bell of St. Kentigern, ii. 467.
 Bell of St. Kessogius, ii. 469.
 Bell of St. Lolanus, ii. 469.
 Bell of St. Meddan, ii. 470.
 Bell of St. Ninian, ii. 468.
 Bell of St. Ternan, ii. 471.
 Bell of St. Rowan, ii. 470.
 Belt Clasp of Shale, i. 441.
 Bemulie, ii. 39.
 Bendochoy, i. 121.
 Benvrackie, i. 165.
 Benval, ii. 46.
 Bernaldby Moor, i. 482.
 Berwickshire, i. 418; ii. 77, 122, 124, 134, 333.
 Biggar, ii. 509.

5.
 ii. 155.
 of Scottish, i.
 of English, i. 64.
 116, 191, 199,
 9, 263, 442.
 511.
 25.
 338.
 140.
 ; ii. 117.
 49.
 447, 522.
 ii. 35.
 7, 417.
 ii. 461.
 73.
 7.
 0.
 122, 124,
 Bill, Ancient Iron, ii. 125.
 Birrens, ii. 35, 67, 68, 77.
 Birrenswark Hill, ii. 68, 88, 156.
 Birch, S., i. 355.
 Birsay, ii. 301.
 Bison Priscus, i. 30.
 Black Knowe, i. 79.
 Black Moss, i. 91, 106.
 Blackadders of Tullyallan, ii. 500.
 Blackerne, ii. 133.
 Blair Drummond Moss, i. 48, 50, 182,
 184, 211.
 Blair Atholl, ii. 83, 473.
 Blair Drummond House, Cists near, i.
 98.
 Blatum Bulgium, ii. 35, 73.
 Boar, Wild, i. 31, 203.
 Boats, Primitive. *Vide* Canoes.
 Bodkins, Bone, i. 201, 246.
 Bodkins, Bronze, ii. 301, 306.
 Bodkins, Silver, ii. 256.
 Bog Iron Ore, ii. 19.
 Bogheads of Kintore, i. 443.
 Bog-Hall Castle, ii. 508.
 Bone Bodkins, i. 133, 201, 218; ii. 118.
 Bone Combs, i. 251; ii. 106, 306.
 Bone Dagger, i. 202.
 Bone Implements, i. 113, 123, 199.
 Bone Lance, i. 48.
 Bone Ornaments, i. 123.
 Bones, Analyses of, i. 241.
 Bones, Structure of Human, i. 240.
 Bonnington Mains, Cromlech at, i. 95,
 96.
 Bookan, Ring of, i. 68.
 Boots, the Scottish, ii. 516.
 Boots, The, ii. 517.
 Borthwick, Parish of, i. 99, 422; ii. 53.
 Bos Longifrons, i. 32, 203, 245; ii. 51.
 Bos Primigenius, i. 30, 31, 34, 35, 203,
 248.
 Boss Cairns, i. 88.
 Boss of Shield, ii. 128.
 Bothwell, Collegiate Church of, ii. 425.
 Bough Runes, ii. 286.
 Bowl Barrow, i. 64, 66.
 Bracelets, Bronze, ii. 137.
 Bracelets, Gold, i. 331, 413, 452, 465.
 Bracelets, Silver, ii. 131, 132, 133.
 Brachycephali, i. 253, 277.
 Brachycephalic Skull, i. 253.
 Braco, i. 313.
 Bracteates, Silver, ii. 261.
 Braidwood Castle, i. 465.
 Branks, The, ii. 517, 520.
 Branks Stone, The, ii. 518.
 Branks, The Bishop's, ii. 520.
 Brass, Celtic, i. 366.
 Brasses, Sepulchral, ii. 455.
 Brazen Age, i. 317, 354.
 Breacan, i. 487.
 Brechin, ii. 244.
 Brechin, Round Tower of, ii. 374, 378,
 447.
 Brechin Cathedral, ii. 324.
 Bressay Stone, ii. 215, 240.
 Brewster, Sir D., i. 320.
 Brick-making, Origin of, ii. 25.
 Bridekirk, Font with Runic Inscription
 at, ii. 330.
 Bridle-bit, ii. 155.
 Brixham Cave, i. 29, 122.
 Broadford Bay, i. 223.
 Brogar, Ring of, i. 143, 154, 157.
 Broidgar, Knowes of, i. 67; ii. 283.
 Bronze, Analyses of, i. 367.
 Bronze Crescent Plate, ii. 228.
 Bronze, Ingot of, i. 337.
 Bronze Mirror, ii. 228.
 Bronze, Original Source of, i. 315, 365.
 Bronze Period, i. 315, 319, 355, 359,
 378, 488.
 Bronze Pins, ii. 301, 306.
 Bronze Reaping-Hooks, i. 400, 402.
 Bronze Rings, i. 350, 427, 454.
 Bronze Spear-Heads, i. 357, 390.
 Bronze Swords, i. 352, 355; ii. 8.
 Bronze Sword Sheath, ii. 129.
 Bronze, The Introduction of, i. 315.
 Bronze Weapons, i. 378.
 Brooch, Celtic, i. 340; ii. 313.
 Brooch, Dunipace, ii. 277, 311.
 Brooch, Glenlyon, i. 339; ii. 314.
 Brooch, Hunterston Runic, ii. 267, 311.
 Brooch, Lorn, i. 339; ii. 313.
 Brooch, Oval, ii. 264, 305, 306.
 Brooches, Silver, ii. 131, 315.
 Brough, Shetland, i. 210.
 Browne, Sir Thomas, i. 3, 60, 204.
 Brown, Rev. A. W., i. 287.
 Bruce, Robert, The, ii. 313, 418, 501,
 511.

- Bruce, Sir Michael, ii. 36.
 Bruce's Acres, ii. 124.
 Bruce's Howe, ii. 114.
 Bruce of Kennet, ii. 487.
 Buchan, i. 108, 177.
 Buchanness, i. 448.
 Buckle, Highland, i. 339.
 Buckler, Bronze, i. 397.
 Buchanan, John, i. 53; ii. 74, 123.
 Buidhean of Strowan, ii. 473.
 Buist, G., ii. 252.
 Buittle, Parish of, i. 494.
 Bunnarnock, ii. 138.
 Bunsen, i. 2.
 Burghar, Burgh of, i. 251; ii. 106.
 Burgh-Head, i. 37; ii. 89.
 Burghs, ii. 101.
 Burghs, Sepulchral Remains found in, ii. 105.
 Burnet, Sir J. H., of Crathes, ii. 501.
 Burray, Island of, i. 119; ii. 302.

 CAIRNBULG, i. 313.
 Cairn-a-vain, i. 199.
 Cairngall Tumulus, ii. 161.
 Cairn, Glenquicken, i. 187.
 Cairn Moor, Buchan, i. 177.
 Cairney Castle, i. 109.
 Cairney Mount Standing-stones, ii. 505.
 Cairnie, i. 79.
 Cairnmure, i. 464, 496; ii. 261.
 Cairns, i. 69, 85; ii. 141.
 Caithness-shire, i. 110, 197, 289; ii. 107, 265.
 Caiy Stone, i. 137, 138.
 Caldale, ii. 132, 262.
 Caldrons, Bronze, i. 371, 376, 408; ii. 497.
 Calicinated Fibule, i. 460.
 Callernish Circle, i. 166, 209, 211.
 Cambus Stone, i. 133.
 Camelon, i. 52.
 Campbeltown, i. 390.
 Camp Hill, i. 213.
 Camp Kettles, Roman, ii. 498.
 Camus Stone, i. 132, 137.
 Candida Casa, ii. 189.
 Canmore, Malcolm, i. 168; ii. 205, 289, 333, 408.
 Cannons, Ancient, ii. 514.
 Cannons, Double, ii. 515.
 Canoes, Primitive, i. 43, 52.
 Cautyre, i. 94.
 Canute, King, ii. 132, 144, 262.
 Caplawchy Cell, i. 127.
 Capsule, Gold, i. 458.
 Carlinwark Loch, i. 46; ii. 82, 124.
 Carlochan Cairn, i. 394.
 Carluke, Parish of, ii. 505.
 Carmichael Parish, i. 394.
 Carnac, i. 139.
 Carrington, ii. 60.
 Carron, River, i. 47.
 Cartland Craigs, i. 109.
 Carstairs, ii. 128.
 Cassiterides, i. 302, 306.
 Cassiteron, i. 304.
 Castle Douglas, ii. 124.
 Castle New, ii. 140.
 Castle Over, ii. 89.
 Castlecary, Roman Station, ii. 74, 77.
 Castlehill, Roman Station, ii. 33, 41.
 Castlemilk, i. 57; ii. 125.
 Castor Europæus, i. 31, 33.
 Castrum Alatum, ii. 53, 56, 59, 61.
 Caterthun, Brown, ii. 91.
 Caterthun, White, ii. 90.
 Cat-stanes, i. 137.
 Catt Stane, ii. 209, 316.
 Causeway End, ii. 124.
 Caves, i. 122, 124.
 Cawdor Castle, ii. 506.
 Celt, Arthur Seat, i. 351.
 Celt, Hafting of, i. 185.
 Celt Moulds, i. 345.
 Celts, i. 12, 24, 276, 500; ii. 6, 10, 178, 532.
 Celt-Axe, i. 186.
 Celtic Brass, i. 366.
 Celtic Crania, i. 284.
 Celtic Cranium, i. 282, 284.
 Celtic Dialects, ii. 178.
 Celtic Pipes, ii. 503.
 Celtic Skull-form, i. 278.
 Celtic Use of Runes, ii. 274, 282.
 Celts, Bronze, i. 384.
 Celts, Stone, i. 53, 186.
 Cervus tarandus, i. 29.
 Cetacea, Fossil, i. 33, 48.
 Chain, Silver, ii. 173, 134.
 Chairs, Stone, ii. 278.

5.
 52.
 44, 262.
 ii. 82, 124.
 5.
 4.
 , ii. 74, 77.
 ii. 33, 41.
 , 59, 61.
 6, 10, 178,
 82.
 Chalice, Bronze, ii. 474.
 Chalice, Golden, of Iona, ii. 482.
 Chalice, Kirkwall, ii. 430.
 Chalices, Silver, ii. 487.
 Chalmers, Patrick, ii. 216, 233, 447.
 Chambered Barrows, i. 64, 69, 77, 87, 119, 255, 260, 479.
 Chambered Cairn, i. 87, 88, 260.
 Chariot, War, ii. 158.
 Charioteer, Tomb of a, ii. 153, 158.
 Charlemagne, Chessmen of, ii. 341.
 Charms, i. 181, 197; ii. 315, 331.
 Chepman, Walter, ii. 440.
 Chess, Game of, ii. 239, 340.
 Chessman, Dunstaffnage, ii. 356.
 Chessman, Kirkstall, ii. 359.
 Chessman, Penicnik, ii. 358.
 Chessman, Skye, ii. 357.
 Chessmen, Lewis, ii. 341.
 Chessmen of James v., ii. 361.
 Chester Knowes, ii. 77.
 Chirnside, ii. 77.
 Christian Art, ii. 237.
 Cinerary Urn, i. 75, 77, 81, 416.
 Cists, i. 98.
 Cists, Incised, i. 480, 482; ii. 217.
 Cists, Oaken, i. 200; ii. 160, 163.
 Clach-a-brangais, ii. 519.
 Clach an Druidean, i. 139.
 Clach Bluai, i. 197.
 Clach-charra, i. 142.
 Clach Dearg, i. 198.
 Clach-na-Bratach, i. 198.
 Clachnaharry, i. 38.
 Clach Stein, i. 139.
 Clachan of Inches, i. 163.
 Clackmannanshire, i. 133.
 Clackmannan Stone, i. 133.
 Clad na Druineach, i. 285.
 Clashfarguhar, i. 176.
 Clasp of Belt, Shalc, i. 441.
 Claymores, Ancient, ii. 508.
 Clere-story Windows, ii. 429.
 Clerk, Sir John, i. 46, 383, 389, 402, 460, 461, 465; ii. 36, 58, 61, 358.
 Cliftonhall, i. 48.
 Clog beannichte, ii. 464.
 Clog-rinny, ii. 468.
 Clontarf, Battle of, ii. 387.
 Closeburn, i. 177.
 Closeburn Hall, ii. 499.
 Clothing, Primitive, i. 475, 486.
 Cluinmore, ii. 141.
 Clunie, Parish of, i. 132.
 Clyde, River, i. 52.
 Coal Money, Kimmeridge, i. 438, 440.
 Cockburn, A., ii. 455.
 Cockburnspath, ii. 122.
 Cockenzie, i. 191, 200, 258.
 Coffins, Oaken, i. 200; ii. 160, 163.
 Coffins, Stone, ii. 458.
 Coilsfield Incised Cist, i. 480.
 Coin of Antoninus Pius, ii. 31.
 Coins, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 131, 132, 262.
 Coins, British, i. 311.
 Coins, Cufic, ii. 131, 262.
 Coins, Egyptian, i. 310, 313.
 Coins found in Tumuli, ii. 255, 260.
 Coins, Gaulish, i. 311.
 Coins, Greek, i. 310, 313.
 Coins, Parthian, i. 314.
 Coins, Primitive, i. 311.
 Coins, Roman, i. 312; ii. 27, 28, 62, 255, 260.
 Coins, Scottish, i. 312; ii. 260, 262, 494, 503.
 Coins of Comius, ii. 42.
 Coins of Cunobelin, i. 311.
 Collar, Inscribed Brass, ii. 519.
 Collars, Stone, i. 222.
 Collessie, ii. 150.
 Combs, Bone, i. 251; ii. 106, 306.
 Combs, Bronze, i. 441.
 Comius, Coin of, ii. 42.
 Copenhagen, Museum of, i. 22.
 Copenhagen, Royal Museum of, i. 23.
 Copper, i. 309, 331, 336.
 Copper, Ingot of, i. 136.
 Copper, Tools of, i. 319.
 Corbiehall, ii. 128.
 Corn-crushers, i. 196.
 Cornwall, i. 143, 171, 309, 314, 406; ii. 19.
 Cornubii, i. 335.
 Coronation Stone. *Vide* Lia Fail.
 Corrieknows, ii. 124.
 Corstorphine Church, ii. 422.
 Courthill, ii. 502.
 Cowdenknowes, ii. 99.
 Cradle-board, Influence of, i. 273.
 Craigdarroch, i. 399.
 Craigmills, i. 200.

- Craig Phaidrick, i. 191.
 Crakraig, i. 423.
 Cramond, ii. 28, 34, 52, 56, 61, 64.
 Crania, i. 14, 82, 120, 227, 350.
 Crania, Artificial flattening of, i. 271.
 Crania, Celtic, i. 284.
 Crania, Classification of, i. 254.
 Cranial Measurements, i. 267, 275, 284.
 Crannoges, i. 351, 400; ii. 99.
 Crathes Tenure Horn, ii. 501.
 Crawford, Abbot, ii. 407.
 Crawford Moor, i. 442.
 Cree, Moss of, i. 381.
 Cree, River, i. 386, 396.
 Crichtie Stone Circle, i. 192, 194.
 Cromdale, Parish of, i. 460.
 Cromlech, i. 70, 92, 255, 258, 479.
 Cromlech, Origin of Name, i. 96.
 Cromlix, i. 96.
 Crosier, Bishop Tulloch's, ii. 480.
 Crosier, Fortrose Cathedral, ii. 479.
 Crosier of St. Fillan, ii. 475, 477.
 Crosier of St. Molochus, ii. 478.
 Crossmichael, Parish of, i. 440.
 Crown Towers, ii. 436.
 Crowned Barrow, i. 68, 81.
 Cruden, i. 75, 224, 434.
 Cruithne, i. 85; ii. 169, 171, 186, 191.
 Cuffo Coins, ii. 131, 262.
 Culbin, Sand-hills of, ii. 137.
 Culdees, ii. 398.
 Culloden, Field of, i. 86, 163.
 Culnock, ii. 368.
 Culsalmond, Parish of, ii. 162.
 Culswick, Burgh of, i. 68.
 Cummertrees, Parish of, ii. 123, 150.
 Cup, King Robert the Bruce's, ii. 487.
 Cups, Incense, i. 415, 424.
 Curing Stones, i. 197.
 Curio, ii. 53.
 Currach, i. 83.
 Currie, ii. 53, 61.
 DÆDALUS, i. 328.
 Dagger, Bronze, i. 392.
 Dagger, Iron, ii. 118, 322.
 Dailly, Parish of, ii. 494.
 Daisses, i. 492.
 Dalmeny Church, ii. 355.
 Dalpatrick, i. 189, 220.
 Dalquharran Castle, ii. 494.
 Dalriads, ii. 179.
 Dalry, Parish of, ii. 114, 502.
 Dalrymple, Parish of, ii. 501.
 Dalrymple, Valley of, ii. 87.
 Dalziel, Parish of, ii. 82.
 Danes' Pipes, ii. 504.
 David I., ii. 399.
 Davis, Dr. J. B., i. 236, 240.
 Dean, River, i. 391.
 Decorated Style, Scottish, ii. 421, 431.
 Deer's Horns in graves, i. 200; ii. 164.
 Deil's Dike, ii. 79, 90.
 De la Beche, Sir H., i. 34.
 Denhead, i. 391.
 Dentated Bronze Ring, ii. 77.
 Deoraid, or Pilgrim, ii. 475.
 Dewar, Alexander, ii. 477.
 Dewars of Monivaird, ii. 470, 475.
 Dia dioghaltus, ii. 463.
 Dick, Sir Alexander, i. 245.
 Dilated Penannular Rings, i. 456.
 Dirks, Celtic, ii. 347, 504, 506.
 Divinities, Local, ii. 70, 71.
 Dobuni, i. 288.
 Dog, remains of, found in tumuli, i. 75, 119; ii. 303.
 Doire, Malice, ii. 475.
 Dolichocephalic Crania, i. 245, 292.
 Donside, Monolithic Circle on, i. 159, 209.
 Doo-Cave, ii. 126.
 Douglas, Archibald, fourth Earl of, ii. 434.
 Douglas, Sir Archibald, ii. 509.
 Down, Hill of, i. 182.
 Downby, Orkney, i. 192.
 Dragon Ornament, ii. 14.
 Dranandow, Moor of, i. 87.
 Drangi, i. 304.
 Draughtsmen, ii. 335.
 Dream of the Holy Rood, ii. 326.
 Dress, Remains of Ancient, i. 475.
 Drift Flint implements, i. 29, 50, 173.
 Drimnamucklach, i. 396.
 Dron, Parish of, i. 171.
 Drostan, King, ii. 243.
 Druid Stone, i. 483.
 Druidical Patena, i. 207.
 Druidical Theories, i. 149, 151, 353; ii. 20, 225.

- , ii. 494.
 114, 502.
 of, ii. 501.
 of, ii. 87.
 82.
 936, 240.
 tish, ii. 421, 431.
 es, i. 200 ; ii. 164.
 , i. 34.
 , ii. 77.
 i. 475.
 477.
 ii. 470, 475.
 245.
 gs, i. 456.
 04, 506.
 , 71.
 in tumuli, i. 75,
 i. 245, 292.
 rcle on, i. 159,
 rth Earl of, ii.
 ii. 509.
 7.
 ii. 326.
 t, i. 475.
 29, 50, 173.
 151, 353 ;
 Druids, i. 284, 286, 499 ; ii. 225.
 Druids' Beads, i. 447.
 Druid's House, ii. 368.
 Drum, Forest of, ii. 501.
 Drum of Knockman, i. 88.
 Drumglow Hill, ii. 121.
 Drumandruin, Fingal's Cave at, i. 126.
 Drumduan, Moss of, i. 57.
 Drumlawhinnie, Cairn of, i. 87.
 Drummond Castle, ii. 140.
 Drum's Aisle, ii. 456.
 Drust, King, ii. 243.
 Duddingston Loch, i. 245, 348, 351,
 391, 408.
 Duffus Parish, i. 392.
 Duich, Loch, ii. 315.
 Dumbartonshire, i. 101, 195, 220 ; ii.
 513.
 Dumfriesshire, i. 44, 82, 88, 153, 177,
 195, 313, 410 ; ii. 11, 67, 123, 126,
 140, 150, 156, 319, 329, 499, 505,
 518.
 Domyat Hill, i. 48.
 Dun Dornadil, ii. 103, 110.
 Dunbar Standing-Stone, i. 134.
 Dunbar, W., ii. 437.
 Dunbarré, ii. 233.
 Dunblane Cathedral, ii. 411, 417.
 Duncan, King, ii. 204.
 Duncan, Maormor of Caithness, ii. 203.
 Duncan, Rev. Dr., ii. 321.
 Duncan, son of Malcolm Canmore, ii.
 289.
 Duncrub House, i. 83.
 Dundalaiv, ii. 91.
 Dunfermline Abbey, ii. 402, 458.
 Dunipace Brooch, ii. 277.
 Dunkeld Cathedral, ii. 428.
 Dun-Mac-Sniochain, ii. 94.
 Dunmore Rock, i. 50.
 Dunnichen Parish, i. 436 ; ii. 221, 261.
 Dunnichen Stone, ii. 221.
 Dunning, Parish of, i. 83.
 Dunrobin Castle, ii. 105.
 Dun Othail, i. 128.
 Duns. *Vide* Burghs.
 Dunstaffnage, ii. 356.
 Dunstaffnage Chesepiece, ii. 356.
 Duntocher, ii. 40.
 Dunvegan Cup, ii. 484.
 Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, i. 128.
 Dwellings, Primitive, i. 103.
 Dysart, i. 127.
 EARTH HOUSES. *Vide* Weems.
 East Broadlaw, i. 271.
 East Kilbride, Parish of, i. 132, 441.
 East Langton, ii. 118.
 East Lothian, i. 72, 188, 190, 191, 200,
 214, 226, 257, 258 ; ii. 66, 455, 457,
 503.
 Eccles Cross, ii. 333.
 Ecclefechan, i. 313 ; ii. 69.
 Ecclesiastical Antiquities, ii. 454.
 Ecclesiology, Chronology of Scottish,
 ii. 453.
 Ecclesiology, Medieval, ii. 394.
 Ecclesiology, Primitive, ii. 362.
 Eday, Isle of, i. 113.
 Edenham, Founding of the Church of,
 ii. 400.
 Edgar, King, ii. 400.
 Edinburgh, i. 99, 199, 203, 271, 347,
 425 ; ii. 48, 53, 61, 163, 317, 423.
 Edinburgh Castle, i. 203, 295 ; ii. 405.
 Edinburghshire. *Vide* Mid-Lothian.
 Edwin, King, ii. 317.
 Egilshay, St. Magnus, ii. 385.
 Egyptian Antiquities, i. 7, 41, 310, 451,
 453.
 Eigg, Island of, i. 206.
 Eilan Donan Castle, ii. 315.
 Eildon, ii. 49, 317.
 Eildon Hills, i. 389 ; ii. 30.
 Eilean Mor, i. 128.
 Eilean Naomb, ii. 367.
 Eirde Houses. *Vide* Weems.
 Elephant, Fossil, i. 29, 48.
 Elephant, Symbolic, ii. 229.
 Elephas primigenius, i. 29.
 Elf-arrow, i. 178, 180, 197 ; ii. 137.
 Elfin-bolts, ii. 505.
 Elf-furrows, i. 494.
 Elfin-pipes, ii. 503.
 Elphinstone Tower, i. 200.
 Elginshire, i. 434, 470.
 Elk, Fossil, i. 29.
 Encircled Barrow, i. 66, 80, 81.
 Enclosed Barrow, i. 66, 80.
 Equus caballus, i. 29 ; ii. 153.
 Equus fossilis, ii. 152.

- Eric, King of Norway, ii. 418.
 Erisca, i. 107.
 Erland, ii. 113.
 Eschricht, Prof., i. 233.
 Esk-tale, ii. 67.
 Esquimaux, i. 209; ii. 107.
 Evie, Parish of, i. 251.
 Ewer, Bronze Animal, ii. 307.
 Ewers, Bronze, ii. 497, 499.
 Eyed Spear-heads, i. 392.
 Eyrbiggia Saga, i. 144, 444.

 FALCON STONE, i. 136.
 Farrochie, i. 252.
 Fairy Beads, ii. 534.
 Falkirk, Carse of, i. 46, 48, 59.
 Farrer, James, M.P., i. 66, 68, 113; ii. 207, 283, 474.
 Felis spelæa, i. 34.
 Fendoch Camp, ii. 122.
 Feroe Stone Lamp, i. 208.
 Fetteresso, Tumulus, i. 252, 477.
 Fibula of Jet, i. 442.
 Fibula, Ring, ii. 258, 315.
 Fibulæ, Silver, ii. 131, 132, 133, 315.
 Fictilia. *Vide* Pottery.
 Fifeness, i. 100, 258.
 Fifeshire, i. 100, 127, 130, 132, 184, 212, 222, 257, 386, 405, 417, 425, 466; ii. 77, 117, 149, 239, 514.
 Findhorn, River, ii. 137.
 Fingal's Caldron Seat, Tormore, i. 142.
 Fingal's Caldron, Harris, i. 258.
 Fingal's Cave, Arran, i. 126.
 Fingal's Cave, Staffa, i. 129.
 Finger-Rings, i. 474; ii. 496.
 Finnic Type, i. 282; ii. 18, 208.
 First-Pointed Style, ii. 412.
 Fishwives' Causeway, ii. 55.
 Flail-Stone, i. 138.
 Flanders Moss, i. 443.
 Fleming, Dr. i. 31.
 Flint Arrow-heads. *Vide* Arrow-heads.
 Flint Ball, i. 188.
 Flint Cores, i. 175, 177.
 Flint Flakes, i. 175, 176.
 Flint Implements, Drift, i. 29, 50, 173.
 Flint Knives, i. 42, 76.
 Floor Tiles, ii. 59, 459.
 Food, Primitive, i. 37, 115, 295.

 Forchhammer, Prof., i. 86.
 Forest of Drum, Foresters of, ii. 501.
 Forfarshire, i. 107, 109, 121, 391, 436, 441; ii. 221, 233, 242, 261, 302, 473.
 Forfar, Witches' Bridle, ii. 521.
 Forge-Tonga, Iron, ii. 83.
 Forges, Ancient, ii. 82.
 Forbes Stone, ii. 234.
 Forts, Hill, ii. 86.
 Forts, Vitrified, ii. 92.
 Fowls, Village of, i. 85.
 Freemasonry, ii. 442.
 Funicular Gold Rod, i. 163.
 Funicular Torc, i. 163, 465.
 Futhork, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 285.
 Futhork, Scandinavian, ii. 284, 285, 286.

 GAELIC, Forfarshire, ii. 242.
 Gaels, i. 103, 318.
 Galant. *Vide* Weland.
 Gallon Head, ii. 367.
 Galloway, i. 128, 220, 360, 381, 386, 389, 394, 396, 460, 465, 494; ii. 219.
 Games, i. 220; ii. 334.
 Garioch, ii. 212.
 Garthland, i. 405.
 Gaskhill, ii. 150.
 Gateside, ii. 117.
 Gauk Stone of Bendaugh, i. 423.
 Gaulish Coinage, i. 311.
 Gauls, i. 227, 355; ii. 8.
 Gavr' Innis, i. 478.
 Geology, i. 5, 27.
 Geometric Style, ii. 415.
 Girth House, ii. 369.
 Ghost's Knowe, i. 405.
 Gladsmuir Parish, i. 214.
 Glamis, ii. 223.
 Glasgow, i. 53.
 Glasgow Cathedral, ii. 412, 421, 428.
 Glass Beads, i. 446, 450; ii. 117.
 Glasshill, i. 195.
 Glencoe, i. 443; ii. 114.
 Glenelg, ii. 103.
 Glenholm, Parish of, i. 471.
 Glenkens, ii. 337.
 Glenkindrie, i. 108.
 Glenlyon Brooch, i. 339; ii. 314.
 Glenorchy, ii. 84.

- i. 36.
 sters of, ii. 501.
 09, 121, 391, 436,
 242, 261, 302, 473.
 le, ii. 521.
 83.
 2.
 35.
 163.
 465.
 ii. 285.
 , ii. 284, 285,
 242.
 360, 381, 386,
 5, 494; ii. 219.
 i. 423.
 421, 428.
 i. 117.
 314.
 Glenquicken, Moor of, i. 187.
 Glenroy, i. 222.
 Glenshiora, ii. 91.
 Glen Tilt, i. 210.
 Gnostic Symbols, ii. 223.
 Goat Hole Cave, i. 123, 218.
 Gold, i. 322.
 Gold Capsule, i. 458.
 Gold Coins, i. 311; ii. 11.
 Gold Lunette, i. 463.
 Gold Pellet, ii. 261.
 Gold Relics, i. 163, 331.
 Gold Rings, i. 413, 472; ii. 496.
 Gold Sceptre Head, i. 497.
 Gold Vessels, i. 405.
 Golden Age, i. 317.
 Golspie Ogham Stone, ii. 239.
 Gosse, Dr. L. A., i. 274.
 Gordon, A., ii. 35, 37, 39, 56.
 Gouge, Bronze, i. 387.
 Gough, R., ii. 324, 381.
 Graitney Mains, i. 82.
 Grangemouth, i. 47, 245.
 Grangemouth Skull, i. 245, 268.
 Graves, Dr. C., ii. 240, 241.
 Greek Coins, i. 310.
 Greek Sepulchral Rites, i. 74.
 Green Cairn, i. 457.
 Gregory, Donald, i. 284.
 Grey Cairn, i. 88.
 Gristhorpe, Remarkable Tumulus at, ii. 161.
 Guanora's Tomb, Queen, ii. 233.
 Guilloche Ornament, ii. 135.
 Guise Palace, Edinburgh, ii. 441;
 Guttorm, ii. 202.
 Guthrie Bell, ii. 470.
 Haco, King, ii. 145, 268.
 Haer Cairns, i. 132.
 Haddington-shire. *Vide* East Lothian.
 Hæmatite, or Specular Iron, ii. 19.
 Haigh, D. H., ii. 328.
 Hailes, Lord, i. 17, 109.
 Hair-pins, ii. 301, 306.
 Halferne, i. 440.
 Halkirk, Parish, i. 196.
 Hall, Sir James, ii. 94.
 Hammers, Iron, ii. 87.
 Hammers, Stone, i. 191.
 Harelaw, i. 132.
 Hare Stane, i. 181.
 Harlaw, i. 132.
 Harlaw, Battle of, ii. 456, 458.
 Harold Harfager, ii. 112, 199.
 Harold the Fair-Spoken, ii. 113.
 Harpoon, Primitive, i. 48, 49.
 Harray, Loch of, i. 154.
 Harris, i. 94, 121, 222, 258, 265.
 Hatchet, Stone, i. 193.
 Hatlock, Cairn, i. 444.
 Havard, Earl, i. 161.
 Havardsteigr, i. 161.
 Hawkhill, ii. 216.
 Hawking Craig, Hunterston, ii. 267.
 Hawk-Stane, i. 135.
 Hawthornden, Ancient Sword at, ii. 347, 507.
 Hawthornden, Caves at, i. 125, 126.
 Head-Rings, Bronze, i. 473; ii. 142, 146.
 Hebrew Bronze Matrix, ii. 460.
 Hebrides, i. 94, 121, 128, 139, 166, 222, 258, 265, 339; ii. 127, 201, 207, 301, 367.
 Heisker, ii. 301.
 Helmet, Bronze, i. 356.
 Helmet, Iron, ii. 303, 351.
 Herlaw, i. 132.
 Hibbert, Dr. Samuel, i. 206, 461, 475; ii. 93, 98, 385.
 Hilda, ii. 387, 392.
 Hill Forts, ii. 86.
 Hill of Tuack, i. 417.
 Hirdmane Stein, i. 136.
 Hoare, Sir R. C., i. 64, 66, 103, 260, 297, 442; ii. 120.
 Hoare Stones, i. 131.
 Hoddam, ii. 329.
 Hoddam Castle, ii. 67, 72.
 Holy Island, ii. 278.
 Holyrood, Abbey of, ii. 362, 407, 458.
 Holyrood, Seal of, ii. 362.
 Homewood Collection, Toronto, ii. 510.
 Horn, Golden, i. 405.
 Horn, Highland Powder, ii. 237.
 Horn, Lance of Deer, i. 48, 199, 200; ii. 87.
 Horse Collars of Stone, i. 222.
 Horse-Furniture, ii. 151, 155.
 Horse-Shoes, Ancient, ii. 124.

- Horse, Wild, ii. 152.
 Horses, Skeletons of, ii. 153, 303.
 Horus, Statuette of, i. 310.
 Houston, Parish of, i. 435.
 Howden Moor, ii. 99.
 How of Hox, ii. 108.
 Hoxay, ii. 108.
 Hoxne, i. 51.
 Hoy, Dwarfie Stone of, i. 128.
 Huly Hill, i. 81.
 Hunterston Runic Brooch, ii. 267.
 Hunthills, ii. 121.
 Hunting Pot, Inscribed Bronze, ii. 497.
 Hymna spelsen, i. 34.

 IBERIANS, i. 229; ii. 175, 184.
 Iceland, ii. 195, 310.
 Imitation, Absence of, i. 498.
 Imitative Art, i. 497.
 Inchcolm, Monastery of, ii. 370, 457.
 Inchcolm, Oratory of, ii. 370.
 Inch Stuthill, ii. 89.
 Inchman, Parish of, i. 440.
 Inchtute, Parish of, i. 135.
 Inchtuthill, i. 121.
 Incense Cups, i. 415, 424.
 Incised Axe-Blades, i. 381, 384.
 Incised Celt, i. 384.
 Incised Cist, i. 480.
 Incised Sepulchral Slabs, ii. 458.
 Ingibjorg, ii. 289.
 Inniskenneth Island, ii. 474.
 Inscribed Silver Brooches, ii. 315.
 Interlaced Knotwork, ii. 135.
 Inveresk, ii. 28, 33, 52, 59.
 Invergowrie, Sculpture at, ii. 256.
 Inverness, i. 38, 58, 163; ii. 133.
 Inverness-shire, i. 104, 121, 162, 191, 200, 392, 460; ii. 110, etc.
 Inverury, ii. 114.
 Iona, i. 82, 141, 284; ii. 189, 193, 195, 199, 429, 457, 509.
 Iona, Abbot John of, ii. 247.
 Iona, Cross of Lauchlan M'Fingon, ii. 247.
 Iona, Golden Chalice of, ii. 482.
 Iona, Inscribed Tombs at, ii. 245.
 Iona, Tomb of Bishop Patrick, ii. 245.
 Iona, Tomb of Eogain, ii. 246.

 Iona, Tomb of the Prioress Anna, ii. 227.
 Iron Foundries, ii. 81.
 Iron, Introduction of, ii. 1, 16, 81.
 Iron Period, i. 354; ii. 1.
 Iron Spear head, i. 290; ii. 51.
 Iron Ring Money, ii. 7, 11.
 Iron, Source of, ii. 16.
 Iron, Superstitions regarding, ii. 126.
 Iron Swords, i. 355; ii. 8, 120, 124, 303.
 Ironmacaunnio Moor, ii. 336.
 Irvine of Drum, Alexander, ii. 456.
 Irvine of Drum, William, ii. 501.
 Isis, Bifrontal Bust of, i. 310.
 Islay, Island of, i. 461; ii. 83.
 Ivory Rings, Fossil, i. 123.

 JAMES III., ii. 436, 486.
 James IV., ii. 361, 437, 509.
 Jedburgh Abbey, ii. 407.
 Jet Necklace, i. 435.
 Jet, Ornaments of, i. 433.
 Jet Rings, i. 434, 438, 443.
 Jet Studs, i. 442.
 Jocelin, Bishop, ii. 412.
 Jongs, The, ii. 517.
 Jura, Island of, i. 309.
 Juniper Green, i. 271.

 KAIMES HILL, i. 105.
 Kel Stone, i. 137.
 Kells, Parish of, i. 171.
 Kemble, J. M., ii. 319, 325.
 Kenneth MacAlpin, ii. 180, 182, 374.
 Kent's Hole Cave, i. 122, 218, 246.
 Ketil, ii. 202.
 Kettles, Bronze, i. 411; ii. 498.
 Kilblain, i. 45.
 Kilbride, Parish of, i. 80, 99; ii. 125.
 Kildrummie Castle, i. 108.
 Kilkerran, i. 349.
 Killearn, Parish of, i. 182.
 Killin, Parish of, ii. 472.
 Kilmichael-Glassie Bell, ii. 461.
 Kilmore, Parish of, i. 142.
 Kilns, Anglo-Roman, ii. 13, 25.
 Kilpatrick, ii. 169.
 Kilpatrick-Fleming, ii. 11.

Prioress Anna, ii.

41.
f, ii. 1, 16, 81.
ii. 1.
290; ii. 51.
7, 11.
6.
regarding, ii. 126.
; ii. 8, 120, 124,

r, ii. 336.
xander, ii. 456.
liam, ii. 501.
of, i. 310.
11; ii. 83.
i. 123.

86.
7, 509.
407.

433.
4, 443.

12.

9.
1.
9, 325.
i. 180, 182, 374.
122, 218, 246.

i; ii. 498.

80, 99; ii. 125.
108.

182.
72.
ell, ii. 461.
142.
ii. 13, 25.

11.

Kilsyth, i. 249, 270.
Kiltearn, i. 89.
Kimmeridge Bay, i. 438.
Kimmeridge Coal Ornaments, i. 437.
Kinallie, i. 272, 423.
Kincardine Moss, i. 52, 409.
Kincardineshire, i. 252, 257, 409, 419,
427, 477; ii. 99, 121, 500, 501.
Kineff, Parish of, i. 427.
Kinellar Parish, i. 443.
King's Cave, Arran, i. 127.
King's Stane, Clackmannan, i. 133.
King's Stone, i. 141.
Kingham, Parish of, i. 425.
Kingoldrum, Parish of, ii. 473.
Kinross-shire, ii. 27.
Kintore Parish, i. 132, 194, 344, 443.
Kintyre, i. 289.
Kirk Andross Cross, ii. 292, 294, 295.
Kirk Braddan Cross, ii. 294, 297.
Kirk Bride Cross, ii. 294.
Kirk Michael Crosses, ii. 292, 294, 295.
Kirk Onchan, ii. 294, 299.
Kirkdean Standing-stones, i. 132.
Kirkcudbrightshire, i. 46, 87, 105, 153,
169, 171, 187, 195, 393, 439; ii. 82,
114, 133, 147, 300, 336.
Kirkintilloch, Roman Station at, ii. 64,
525.
Kirkliston, Parish of, ii. 209.
Kirkmadrine, ii. 246.
Kirkmichael Rocking Stone, i. 170.
Kirkmichael, Parish of, i. 170, ii. 505.
Kirknewtown, Parish of, ii. 118.
Kirkstall Chessman, ii. 358.
Kirkurd Parish, i. 132, 189.
Kirkwall, i. 199.
Kirkwall Cathedral, ii. 393.
Kitchen Middens. *Vide* Shell Mounds.
Kjökkenmoedlinger, Danish, i. 36, 291.
Kombat, Dr., i. 281.
Kneph, The God, i. 416.
Knitted Tissues, i. 429, 475.
Knives, Flint, i. 183.
Knocklegoil Cairn, i. 87.
Knock Sealbert Fort, ii. 88.
Knotted Funicular Tore, i. 465.
Knockferrel, ii. 93.
Knockstanger, i. 289.
Knownes of Brogar, i. 67, 68; ii. 134,
283.

Kumbecephali, i. 250, 276.
Kumbecephalic Crania, i. 236, 249, 260,
267, 292.
Kyle, District of, i. 481.

LABARUM, Symbol of the, ii. 246.
Ladykirk, Parish Church of, ii. 437.
Laing, Mr. Malcolm, i. 146.
Lake Villages. *Vide* Crannoges.
Lamel Hill, i. 84.
Lamlash, i. 127; ii. 277.
Lamlash Bay, Cromlech, i. 94.
Lamps, Primitive Sepulchral, i. 423.
Lamps, Roman Bronze, ii. 60.
Lanarkshire, i. 57, 80, 109, 189, 220,
314, 442; ii. 82, 128, 151, 508.
Lance, Bone, i. 48, 49.
Lance-heads. *Vide* Spear-heads.
Landine, i. 462.
Langside, Field of, i. 80.
Langunge, Pietish, ii. 174, 177.
Langunges, Celtic, ii. 178.
Largiebeg, Point, i. 458.
Largo, i. 184, 405, 466.
Largo, Bay of, i. 130, 467; ii. 250.
Largo Stone, ii. 255.
Largs, ii. 155, 277.
Largs, Battle of, ii. 268.
Larnahinden, i. 289.
Latham, Dr., i. 14.
Lauder, Sir T. Dick, i. 389.
Layard, Dr., i. 338.
L'Ancresse Common, Cromlech on, i. 95.
Leadhills, i. 322.
Lead, Roman Bigs of, ii. 64.
Leaf-shaped Swords, i. 355, 393.
Ledberg, i. 401.
Leith, St. Mary's Church, ii. 439.
Lerwick, ii. 104.
Lesmurdie, i. 272, 425.
Letham, i. 436.
Letham, Den of, i. 436.
Leuchar, Monolithic Group, i. 162.
Leuchar Moss, i. 103.
Lever, Bronze, i. 386.
Lewis Chessmen, ii. 341.
Lewis, Island of, i. 121, 128, 139, 166;
ii. 208, 341, 367, 369.
Lewis, Sir G. C., i. 375.
Leyn, Circle of, i. 163.

- Leys Tenure Horn, ii. 501.
 Lia Fail, i. 140.
 Liddle Moat, ii. 89.
 Linculden Abbey, ii. 426.
 Linero, ii. 368.
 Linlithgow, St. Michael's Church, ii. 428.
 Linlithgowshire, i. 271.
 Linton, i. 259, 270.
 Linton Loch, i. 248.
 Lion Ewer, ii. 308.
 Lituus, or Bronze Wind Instrument, i. 369.
 Llandudno Copper-Mines, i. 309.
 Local Divinities, ii. 70, 71.
 Loch Doon, i. 46.
 Loch Fyne, i. 103.
 Loch Roag, i. 166.
 Loch Sunart, ii. 518.
 Loch of Forfar, ii. 100.
 Loch of Leys, ii. 99.
 Lochar Moss, i. 44, 46, 410; ii. 140.
 Lochbuy Brooch, ii. 314.
 Lochmaben, ii. 89, 99.
 Lochleven, Monastery of St. Serf, ii. 399.
 Lodbrock, ii. 287.
 Logie, Parish of, i. 441; ii. 239.
 Logie Ogham Stone, ii. 239.
 Logie, Three Laws of, i. 441.
 Lomond Hills, i. 222.
 Long Barrow, i. 71, 80.
 Longside, Parish of, ii. 161.
 Lollius Urbicus, ii. 26, 39.
 Lorn, Brooch of, i. 339; ii. 313.
 Lower Largo, i. 405.
 Luggtonrigge, i. 398.
 Lukis, F. C., i. 95.
 Lukis, J. W., i. 479.
 Lumphanan, Battle of, ii. 206.
 Lumphanan, Parish of, i. 188, 473.
 Lunar Ornaments, Gold, i. 463.
 Lunar Ornaments, Silver, i. 68; ii. 134.
 Luncarty, Battle of, i. 135.
 Lundie House, Weem near, i. 109.
 Lundin, Stones of, i. 130; ii. 251.
 Lunette, Bronze, ii. 228.
 Lunette, Gold, i. 463.
 Luntrethin Church, ii. 470.
 Lymphad, ii. 247.
 MABERRIE, HILL OF, i. 80.
 Macbeth, ii. 205.
 Macbeth's Stane, i. 134.
 Macculloch, Dr., ii. 94, 111.
 Machairodus Latidens, i. 28.
 MacEarc, ii. 170.
 Macleod of Macleod, ii. 457.
 Macrocephalic Skulls, i. 236.
 M'Inroy of Lude, ii. 473.
 Madden, Sir F., ii. 341.
 Maeshowe, i. 68, 119; ii. 207, 283.
 Magnetite, Iron Ores, ii. 19.
 Magnus, Erlendson, ii. 391.
 Maiden Stone, ii. 227.
 Maiden Stone of Garioch, ii. 227.
 Maiden, The Scottish, ii. 516.
 Malcolm II., ii. 203.
 Malcolm Canmore, i. 168; ii. 205, 289, 333, 395, 459, 488.
 Malcolm's Grave-Stone, ii. 223.
 Mammalia, Fossil, i. 28.
 Mammillary Brooches, i. 459.
 Manichæism, ii. 224.
 Manillas, i. 455.
 Man, Isle of, ii. 273, 292.
 Manx, Runic Alphabet, ii. 273.
 Margaret, Queen, ii. 387, 402.
 Margaret of Norway, ii. 417.
 Martin, i. 107, 339; ii. 368.
 Mar's Hill, i. 458.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, ii. 488.
 Mason-marks, ii. 442.
 Masonry, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 364.
 Masonry, Roman, ii. 33, 35.
 Masonry, Scottish, ii. 377, 379.
 Matrix, Hebrew Bronze, ii. 460.
 Mazer of the fourteenth century, ii. 490.
 Mazer-Cups, ii. 489.
 Mazers, ii. 486, 489, 492.
 Mazers, King Robert the Bruce's, ii. 486.
 Mealyea Rocking Stone, i. 171.
 Moarns, The, ii. 191.
 Medicine Stamp, Roman, ii. 65.
 Megaceros Hibernicus, i. 29.
 Megalithic Era of Art, i. 148, 266.
 Megalithic Cists, i. 64, 69, 255, 259.
 Meikle Stone, i. 134; ii. 233.
 Meiklewood Moss, i. 184.
 Melbrigda Tönn, ii. 202.
 Melford, ii. 150.

- i. 80.
 134.
 04, 111.
 s, i. 28.
 ii. 457.
 i. 236.
 473.
 41.
 ; ii. 207, 283.
 ii. 19.
 i. 391.
 och, ii. 227.
 , ii. 516.
 168 ; ii. 205, 289,
 e, ii. 223.
 28.
 i. 459.
 292.
 t, ii. 273.
 87, 402.
 i. 417.
 368.
 ii. 488.
 , ii. 364.
 , 35.
 77, 379.
 e, ii. 460.
 century, ii. 490.
 2.
 he Bruce's, ii.
 i. 171.
 , ii. 65.
 29.
 148, 266.
 50, 255, 259.
 233.
 Melrose Abbey, ii. 421, 438.
 Memorial Stones, i. 130.
 Mensie, i. 394, 426 ; ii. 120.
 Menes, Era of, i. 2.
 Menzie, Cairn of, i. 177.
 Merlsford, ii. 77.
 Merton Mere, i. 46.
 Metals, Introduction of, i. 299, 320.
 Metals, Names of, i. 239 ; ii. 5.
 Middleby, ii. 157, 315.
 Mid-Lothian, i. 81, 99, 105, 121, 131,
 270, 427, 454, 465, 470 ; ii. 61, 118,
 420.
 Mines, Ancient Copper, i. 309.
 Mines, Ancient Gold, i. 322.
 Mines, Ancient Iron, ii. 81.
 Minniegaff, i. 87.
 Mirror, Bronze, ii. 228.
 Mirror and Comb, The Symbols of, ii.
 227.
 Misk, ii. 505.
 Monivaird, ii. 470.
 Monogram of the Virgin, ii. 442.
 Monolithic Art, i. 148.
 Mons Meg, ii. 82, 513.
 Montblair, Ha' Hill of, i. 417.
 Montrose, i. 257, 269, 420.
 Monumental Character of Tumuli, i. 77.
 Monymusk, Cufic Coin found at, ii. 262.
 Monzie, Parish of, i. 107.
 Moor of Glenquicken, i. 187.
 Moor of Rannoch, i. 469.
 Moor of Sluie, i. 381.
 Moray House, Branks found at, ii. 520.
 Moray, James Earl of, ii. 455.
 Morayshire, i. 37, 381, 389, 392 ; ii. 128,
 137, 153.
 Mortara, Stone, i. 196.
 Mortlach, Church of, ii.
 Morton, Dr., i. 280.
 Mos Scotorum, ii. 191.
 Moss of Cree, i. 381.
 Moss. *Vide* Peat Moss.
 Moss-Side, i. 402.
 Moulds, Bronze, i. 342.
 Moulds, Stone, i. 342.
 Mousa, Burgh of, ii. 102, 113.
 Mythology, Scandinavian, ii. 18, 387.
 Munch, Prof., i. 161, 195 ; ii. 273, 279,
 293, 295, 311.
 Murchison, Sir R. I., i. 34.
 NAMES OF METALS, i. 239 ; ii. 5.
 Necklaces of Shells, i. 201, 225.
 Necklaces of Jet, i. 435.
 Nectan, King, ii. 192, 375.
 Nectan's Mere, Battle of, ii. 180.
 Needles, Bronze, i. 475.
 Nether Urquhart Cairn, i. 257.
 Newbattle Abbey, i. 81, 257.
 Newbigging, i. 272.
 Newgrange, Cairn of, i. 478, 480.
 Newstead, i. 290 ; ii. 30, 35, 49.
 Newton in Garioch, Inscribed Stone at,
 ii. 212.
 Newton, Sir Isaac, i. 19.
 Newton Stone, ii. 212.
 Nicholas, Bishop of Man, ii. 279.
 Nidung, King, ii. 22.
 Nilsson, Professor, i. 13, 14, 34, 233,
 282 ; ii. 17, 20.
 Nisbetmuir, Field of, ii. 124.
 Nisibost, i. 94.
 Norici, i. 501 ; ii. 4, 16.
 Noricum, ii. 4.
 Norrie's Law, Silver Relics, ii. 220, 250.
 Norse Swords, ii. 15.
 Northmen, i. 10, 82, 468 ; ii. 195.
 North-Berwick, i. 84, 188, 190 ; ii. 119,
 503, 505.
 North-Berwick Abbey, ii. 459.
 North-Berwick Law, i. 412.
 Nuraghes, ii. 105.
 OAKEN CISTS, i. 200 ; ii. 160, 163.
 Oaken Querne, i. 211.
 Occiput, Artificial flattening of, i. 271.
 Ochil Hills, Cairn on, i. 199.
 Ochiltree, Hill of, i. 80.
 Oculist's Stamp, Roman, ii. 65, 66.
 Odin, Black Stone of, i. 145.
 Odin, Stone of, Stennis, i. 143.
 Ogham Inscriptions, ii. 212, 239.
 Ogilvie, Sir Alexander, ii. 491.
 Ogilvy, Sir John, ii. 470.
 Olave Tryggveson, King, ii. 312, 386.
 Olave the White, ii. 202.
 Old Liston, i. 81.
 Old Penrith, i. 424.
 Onich, Perforated Stone at, i. 142.
 Oon, Arthur's, ii. 35.
 Oronsay, ii. 509.

- Orkney, i. 66, 70, 72, 75, 79, 94, 112, 192, 199, 201, 251, 424, 451, 455, 472; ii. 107, 128, 131, 241, 263, 283, 385, 388.
- Ormiston, ii. 455.
- Ornaments, Personal, i. 216; ii. 131.
- Ornaments, Stone, i. 223.
- Orphir, Parish of, i. 71; ii. 369.
- Orvar Odd's Saga, i. 180.
- Orwell Parish, i. 199.
- Oval Brooch, ii. 264, 305.
- Owen, Professor, i. 30, 34, 35; ii. 153.
- Oyster-Shells, Collar of, i. 201.
- PAISLEY ABBEY, ii. 421, 422.
- Pallas Armata, Modern, ii. 524.
- Palstave, i. 382.
- Palstave, Looped, i. 383.
- Papa, Application of the Term, ii. 196.
- Papa, Stronsay, ii. 241.
- Papey, Holm of, i. 114.
- Parthian Coin, i. 314.
- Patella, Roman, i. 80.
- Patera, Inscribed Tin, i. 308.
- Patera, Stone, i. 207.
- Patrick, Tomb of Bishop, Iona, ii. 245.
- Pearson, G., i. 367.
- Peat Moss, i. 38, 44, 52, 57, 91, 167, 248, 259, 342, 409.
- Peat Mosses, Danish, i. 36.
- Pech's Burgh, i. 210.
- Pech's Knives, i. 183.
- Peeblesshire, i. 189, 259, 270, 459, 464, 471; ii. 261.
- Penicuik, i. 121, 465.
- Penicuik House, i. 383, 402; ii. 63, 157, 358, 503.
- Pennant, i. 45, 110, 309; ii. 58, 72, 127.
- Penrith, i. 424.
- Pentland Hills, ii. 129, 171.
- Percelewan, ii. 501.
- Perforated Stones, ii. 142.
- Periods, Archaeological, i. 23, 39.
- Period, The Stone, i. 43.
- Perpendicular Style, ii. 434.
- Personal Ornaments, i. 132, 216; ii. 131.
- Perthshire, i. 83, 85, 107, 121, 134, 165, 170, 171, 391, 393, 443, 469; ii. 20, 122, 140, 300, 472.
- Peterhead, i. 448.
- Petrie, Dr., ii. 364, 371, 382.
- Petrie, G., i. 79, 116, 162, 164; ii. 369.
- Pettycur, i. 386.
- Philips, J. A., i. 319, 371.
- Phœnicians, i. 250, 303, 305, 449; ii. 213.
- Phœnician Skull, i. 250.
- Piccardach, ii. 171, 182.
- Pictish Runes, ii. 282.
- Pictish Language, ii. 174, 177, 242.
- Pictish Towers. *Vide* Burghs.
- Picts, i. 18, 287; ii. 30, 171, 375.
- Picts' Houses, i. 116.
- Picts' Kilns, i. 105.
- Picts, Piccardach. *Vide* Cruithne.
- Pier-o-Waal, Links of, ii. 301, 302, 305.
- Pig of Tin, i. 308.
- Pigs of Lead, ii. 64.
- Pitalpin, ii. 137.
- Pitcaithly, i. 393.
- Pit-Dwellings, i. 104.
- Pitlessie, ii. 251.
- Pitlochrie, Standing-Stones, i. 165.
- Pitlour House, i. 213.
- Plates, Stone, i. 202.
- Plunton Castle, ii. 147.
- Pollok, ii. 308.
- Poole, R. S., i. 2.
- Polygonal Masonry, ii. 377, 379.
- Port a Churaich, i. 82.
- Port Ellen, i. 177, 491.
- Port Seaton, i. 72.
- Portpatrick, Parish of, i. 220, 439.
- Portry, ii. 368.
- Pot Querne, i. 213.
- Pot Quernes, Irish, i. 214.
- Pots, Bronze, ii. 497, 498.
- Potters' Stamps, Roman, ii. 74.
- Potters' Wheel, i. 413.
- Pottery, Glazed, ii. 118, 119.
- Pottery, Medieval, ii. 502.
- Pottery, Primitive, i. 412.
- Pottery, Roman, ii. 50, 52, 74.
- Powder Horn, Highland, ii. 237.
- Pre-Celtic Races, i. 229, 250, 291.
- Preston Aisle, St. Giles' Church, ii. 435, 456.
- Prichard, Dr., 234, 238, 239, 279, 317; ii. 20.
- Prieston, i. 121.

- 371, 382.
 162, 164; ii. 369.
 371.
 303, 305, 449; ii.
 250.
 182.
 174, 177, 242.
de Burghs.
 30, 171, 375.
Vide Cruithne.
 f, ii. 301, 302, 305.
 Stones, i. 165.
 377, 379.
 i. 220, 439.
 214.
 498.
 an, ii. 74.
 3, 119.
 502.
 112.
 52, 74.
 d, ii. 287.
 9, 250, 291.
 ' Church, ii. 435,
 3, 239, 279, 317:
 Priest's Stone, Dunfallandy, ii. 229.
 Primitive Metallurgy, i. 319, 338, 341.
 Primitive Trading, Traces of, i. 176.
 Primitive Christian Architecture, ii.
 367, 370.
 Prince's Stone, Glenferness, ii. 229.
 Pruning-Hooks, Bronze, i. 400.
 Purgatory Hammer, i. 191.
 Pyxes, ii. 494.
 QUANTERNES, Picts' House at, i. 116.
 Queen Mary, i. 80; ii. 34.
 Queen Mary's Law, i. 80.
 Queen Mary's Mount, i. 441.
 Queensferry, South, ii. 419.
 Quendale, ii. 132.
 Querne, Oaken, i. 200.
 Quernes, Stone, i. 110, 212.
 Quetzalcoat, i. 326.
 Quigrich, The, ii. 475.
 Question, The, ii. 518.
 RACES, BRITISH, i. 228; ii. 10, 207, 318,
 394.
 Races of Europe, Primitive, i. 13; ii. 17.
 Rafford, Parish of, i. 434.
 Ragnvald, Earl, ii. 289.
 Rannoch, Moor of, i. 469.
 Rathen, Parish of, ii. 119.
 Ratho, i. 95.
 Ratho, Parish of, i. 105, 270, 319, 427,
 454.
 Rattray, Hill of, i. 83.
 Reaping-Hooks, Bronze, i. 400, 402.
 Red Abbeystead, ii. 50.
 Red-Hand, Symbol of, i. 356.
 Reel-Pins, ii. 336.
 Relig Oran, ii. 246, 351.
 Religion, i. 498.
 Rendale, i. 79.
 Renfrewshire, i. 46, 435.
 Repp, T. G., ii. 321.
 Retzius, Professor, i. 13, 233, 278, 281.
 Rhinoceros Tichorhinus, i. 29.
 Richard of Cirencester, ii. 48, 59.
 Ring and Staple, i. 408.
 Ring, Bronze Finger, ii. 331.
 Ring, Dilated Penannular, i. 456.
 Ring Fibula, Bronze, i. 474.
 Ring Fibula, Silver, ii. 258.
 Ring, Inscribed Runic, ii. 267.
 Ring Money, African, i. 454.
 Ring Money, Gold, i. 453.
 Ring Money, Iron, ii. 7, 11.
 Ring Money, Silver, i. 453.
 Rings, Bronze, i. 350, 427, 454.
 Rings, Finger, i. 474; ii. 331.
 Rings for the Hair, i. 473; ii. 142.
 Rings, Gold, i. 413, 472.
 Rings, Penannular, i. 456.
 Rings, Sacramental, i. 144, 444.
 Rings, Shale, i. 434, 438, 443.
 Rings, Stone, i. 443.
 Rings, Wedding, i. 446.
 Robert the Bruce, ii. 313, 418, 467, 486,
 487.
 Robinson, Rev. Dr., i. 366, 371.
 Rocking Stones, i. 169.
 Rod of Office, Gold, i. 163.
 Rognwald, ii. 201.
 Roman Arch, Edinburgh, ii. 58.
 Roman Arts, Influence of, ii. 13.
 Roman Bronze Lamp, ii. 60.
 Roman Bronzes, ii. 59.
 Roman Coins, i. 312; ii. 27, 28.
 Roman Invasion, ii. 24, 78.
 Roman Patellæ, i. 80.
 Roman Pigs of Lead, ii. 64.
 Roman Sepulchral Rites, i. 74, 78.
 Roman Shafts, ii. 51.
 Roman Skull, i. 290.
 Roman Spear, ii. 51.
 Roman Wall, ii. 27, 38.
 Romanesque Parish Churches, ii. 411.
 Romanesque Style, ii. 410.
 Ronaldshay, Island of, i. 424; ii. 108,
 220.
 Ronecht, The, ii. 472.
 Ronnell Bell of Binnie, ii. 472.
 Rosele, Hill of, i. 392.
 Rosetta Stone, i. 7.
 Roslin, Collegiate Church, ii. 430, 446.
 Rosskeen, Parish of, i. 345, 385.
 Ross-shire, i. 91, 142, 345, 385, 399,
 434; ii. 93.
 Rothesay Chapel, St. Giles' Church, ii.
 434.
 Rothesay, David, Duke of, ii. 434.
 Rottenmoss, i. 402.
 Round Tower, Abernethy, ii. 374.

- Round Tower, Brechin, ii. 374, 378, 447.
 Round Tower, Egilshay, ii. 385.
 Round Towers, Irish, ii. 382.
 Round Towers, Scottish, ii. 373.
 Roxburghshire, i. 31, 126, 177, 248, 290, 389; ii. 121, 116.
 Runes, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 319.
 Runes, Celtic. *Vide* Ogham.
 Runes, Pietish, ii. 282.
 Runes, Scoto-Scandinavian, ii. 270, 286.
 Runic Alphabet, ii. 286.
 Runic Brooch, Hunterston, ii. 267.
 Runic Inscription at Hoddam, ii. 329.
 Runic Inscriptions, ii. 207, 270, 276, 280.
 Rutherglen, Parish of, i. 80.
 Ruthwell Cross, ii. 319.
 Rydderch, King of Strathclyde, ii. 211.

 SACRAMENTAL RINGS, i. 144, 444.
 Samian Ware, ii. 50, 54.
 Sandness Sculptured Stone, ii. 220, 283.
 Sandwick, i. 71, 94, 201; ii. 131, 301.
 Sarcophagus, St. Andrews, ii. 236.
 Sauchie Cairn, ii. 261.
 Savrock, Shell heap at, i. 37.
 Savrock, Weem at, i. 113.
 Scabbard, Bronze Sword, ii. 129.
 Seales, Bay of, i. 201.
 Scale Plates, Norrie's Law Silver, ii. 222, 255.
 Scandinavian Races, i. 232.
 Scandinavian Relics, ii. 264.
 Scandinavian Mythology, ii. 18, 387.
 Scaphocephalic Skull, i. 236.
 Sceptre-head, Gold, i. 495, 497.
 Seonnie Ogham Stone, ii. 239.
 Scotia, ii. 169.
 Scott, ii. 178, 183, 186.
 Scoto-Scandinavian Relics, ii. 264.
 Scottish Conquest, ii. 182.
 Scottish Ecclesiology, ii. 453.
 Sermingour, Sir Robert, ii. 458.
 Seuir-na-fion, Glencoe, ii. 114.
 Sculptured Standing-Stones, ii. 209.
 Seals, Ancient, ii. 351, 362, 467.
 Seal, Hebrew inscribed, ii. 460.
 Seal of Holyrood Abbey, ii. 362.
 Seal of Incheolm Abbey, ii. 372.
 Seal of St. Rule's, ii. 333.
 Seal, Brechin Chapter, ii. 384.
 Seal of Thor Longus, ii. 401.
 Selkirkshire, i. 482; ii. 211.
 Seamhill Moat, i. 200.
 Sepulchral Memorials of Stone Period, i. 62.
 Sepulchral Rites, i. 73, 97, 101.
 Sepulchral Brassos, ii. 455.
 Sepulchral Vessels, i. 412.
 Sepulchres of the Bronze Period, i. 478.
 Sepulchres of the Iron Period, ii. 149.
 Serpentine Ornament, ii. 14.
 Serpent Stones, i. 447.
 Seton Collegiate Church, ii. 425, 457.
 Seton, Sir Christopher, ii. 512.
 Severus, Sculptured Head of, ii. 48, 56.
 Severus, Septimius, ii. 28, 57, 68, 78.
 Shafts, Roman, ii. 27.
 Shale, Ornaments of, i. 434, 438.
 Sharpe, Archbishop, ii. 522.
 Shapinsay, Parish of, i. 455.
 Sheal Loch, i. 422.
 Shell-shaped Brooch, ii. 264, 305.
 Shell Necklaces, i. 201, 225.
 Shell Mounds, i. 37, 38, 115.
 Shetland, i. 182, 184; ii. 104, 132, 205, 215, 220, 240.
 Shields, Bronze, i. 397.
 Shields, Kite-shaped, ii. 349.
 Shields, Umbones of, ii. 128, 304.
 Ship, Ancient, i. 360.
 Ship Barrow, i. 82.
 Shoes, Ancient Horse, ii. 124.
 Shotts, Parish of, i. 314.
 Sibbald, Sir, P., i. 399; ii. 34, 53.
 Sickles, i. 499.
 Silla, i.
 Sigurd, ii.
 Silbury Hill, .
 Silver Ornament, ii. 222.
 Silver Armour or ii. 252.
 Silver Relics, i. 69; ii. 131, 132, 133, 252, 263.
 Simpson, Prof., i. 197; ii. 66, 210, 370.
 Siward, Earl of Northumberland, ii. 205, 396.
 Skail, Bay of, ii. 131, 263.
 Skara, i. 201.
 Skene, Parish of, i. 103, 162.
 Skene, W. F., ii. 242, 260.

333.
 , ii. 384.
 ii. 401.
 ii. 211.
 of Stone Period,
 , 97, 101.
 455.
 412.
 ze Period, i. 478.
 Period, ii. 149.
 ii. 14.
 , ii. 425, 457.
 ii. 512.
 end of, ii. 48, 56.
 28, 57, 68, 78.
 434, 438.
 522.
 i. 455.
 264, 305.
 225.
 115.
 i. 104, 132, 205.
 349.
 128, 304.
 124.
 ii. 34, 53.
 , ii. 222.
 s Law, ii. 252.
 131, 132, 133,
 66, 210, 370.
 erland, ii. 205,
 53.
 162.
 0.
 Skye, Isle of, i. 107, 182, 223, 399, 441,
 456; ii. 134, 357.
 Slateford, Parish of, i. 470.
 Flavel's Collar, Scottish, ii. 520.
 Sling Stones, i. 197.
 Sluie, Moor of, i. 389.
 Smith, Dr. J. A., ii. 31, 76.
 Smith, C. R., ii. 75.
 Smiths, Celtic, i. 332; ii. 83.
 Snake Bracelets, ii. 137.
 Solway Firth, i. 44.
 Sornach-coir-Phinn, i. 258.
 Southwick, Parish of, i. 159.
 South Ronaldshay. *Vide* Ronaldshay.
 Spanish Arms, ii. 510.
 Spain, Ancient Mines of, i. 323.
 Spear-heads, Flint, i. 182.
 Spear-heads, Bronze, i. 357, 388, 390.
 Spear-heads, Iron, i. 290; ii. 15, 51,
 124, 150.
 Spynie, Loch of, i. 37.
 Square-headed Window, ii. 439.
 St. Andrews, ii. 331, 409.
 St. Andrews Sarcophagus, ii. 236.
 St. Anthony, Chapel of, ii. 366, 370.
 St. Adrian's Cave, i. 127.
 St. Blane, ii. 411.
 St. Cannaig's Chapel, i. 128.
 St. Clair, William, Earl of Caithness,
 ii. 447.
 St. Clair, William, of Rosslyn, ii. 448,
 449.
 St. Colme, ii. 372.
 St. Columba, i. 213; ii. 192, 196.
 St. Columba, Bell of, ii. 462, 465.
 St. Columba, Cave of, i. 127.
 St. Columba, Mound of, i. 82.
 St. Cormac, Cave of, i. 127.
 St. Cuthbert, ii. 278.
 St. Cuthbert's Bells, ii. 534.
 St. Donnan, Burial Place of, i. 207.
 St. Eloi's Chapel, ii. 432.
 St. Fillan, Bell of, ii. 472.
 St. Fillan, Crosier of, ii. 475.
 St. Fillan, Pool of, ii. 278.
 St. Finan, ii. 189, 403.
 St. Finnian, i. 213.
 St. Flann, Chapel of, ii. 367.
 St. Giles's Arm-Bone, ii. 435, 456.
 St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, ii. 430,
 431.
 St. Kenneth, Bell of, ii. 474.
 St. Kentigern, ii. 278, 362.
 St. Kieran, Cave of, ii. 193.
 St. Machar's Cathedral, ii. 428.
 St. Madoc's, Parish of, i. 135; ii. 300.
 St. Magnus, ii. 291, 391.
 St. Magnus, Cathedral of, ii. 348, 407.
 St. Magnus, Egilshay, ii. 385.
 St. Maolionn. *Vide* St. Molio.
 St. Margaret, ii. 404, 417.
 St. Margaret, Chapel of, Edinburgh
 Castle, ii. 59, 405.
 St. Marcan, ii. 278.
 St. Martin, ii. 189.
 St. Mary's Church, Leith, ii. 457.
 St. Michael's Church, Lamligow, ii.
 427.
 St. Modan's Chapel, i. 128.
 St. Molio's Cave, i. 127; ii. 278.
 St. Moloc's Crosier, ii. 478.
 St. Mungo. *Vide* St. Kentigern.
 St. Ninian, ii. 188, 190, 195.
 St. Ninian, Bell of, ii. 471.
 St. Olaf, ii. 291, 462.
 St. Oran's Chapel, ii. 194, 247.
 St. Palladius, ii. 190.
 St. Patrick, ii. 169, 226, 465.
 St. Ringan. *Vide* St. Ninian.
 St. Roman, Chapel of, ii. 367.
 St. Rowan's Bell, ii. 470, 475.
 St. Rule, Cave of, i. 127.
 St. Rule, Church of, ii. 408.
 St. Serf, i. 127; ii. 190.
 St. Serf, Monastery of, Lachlevan, ii.
 399.
 St. Servanus. *Vide* St. Serf.
 St. Vigens, Inscribed Stone of, ii. 242.
 St. Woloc, ii. 278.
 Steenstrup, Professor, i. 36.
 Stennis, Cromlech at, i. 94.
 Stennis, Loch of, i. 72, 154.
 Stennis, Stones of, i. 66, 69, 143, 146,
 152, 157, 161; ii. 9.
 Stevenston, Parish of, i. 441.
 Stirlingshire, i. 87, 93, 98, 182, 244,
 270, 405; ii. 261.
 Stichel Head Ring, ii. 146.
 Stobo Castle, i. 459.
 Stone Balls, i. 194.
 Stone Basin, i. 210.
 Stone Chairs, ii. 278.

- Stone Coffins, ii. 236.
 Stone Hammers, i. 192.
 Stone Horse-Collars, i. 222.
 Stone Implements, i. 153, 173.
 Stone Knives, i. 183.
 Stone Lamp, i. 208.
 Stone Moulds, i. 342.
 Stone of Odin. *Vide* Odin.
 Stone Patera, i. 207.
 Stone Urn, i. 205.
 Stone Vessels, i. 205, 207, 210.
 Stonebyres, i. 109.
 Stones of Ordeal, i. 171.
 Stonehenge, ii. 9.
 Stoneykirk, Parish of, ii. 246.
 Strachur, Parish of, i. 184, 187, 381.
 Stranraer, i. 360.
 Strathblane, Parish of, i. 101.
 Strathdon, Parish of, i. 108; ii. 140.
 Strathfillan, ii. 473, 476.
 Strathmore, ii. 90.
 Stromness, i. 71, 75.
 Strongholds, ii. 85.
 Stronsa, Island of, i. 205.
 Strowan, ii. 473.
 Studs, Jet, i. 442.
 Stuart, J., i. 149.
 Subterranean Dwellings. *Vide* Weems.
 Sueno's Stone, ii. 234.
 Sutherlandshire, i. 107, 110, 401, 423;
 ii. 104, 239.
 Sutte System, i. 76.
 Swords, Bronze, i. 352, 355; ii. 8.
 Swords, Danish Iron, ii. 15.
 Swords, Iron, i. 355; ii. 8, 120, 124.
 Swords, Medieval, i. 332; ii. 347, 507.
 Swords, Two-Handed, ii. 507, 509.
 Sword-Sheath, Bronze, ii. 129.
 Symbols, Christian, ii. 218.
 Symbols, Pagan, ii. 218, 221, 227, 229,
 240.
 TABLEMEN, ii. 101, 361.
 Table-stones, ii. 335.
 Talismans, i. 181, 197, 440; ii. 126, 127.
 Tanist Stones, i. 140.
 Tay, River, i. 401.
 Tealing, Parish of, i. 107.
 Teeth, State of, in Ancient Crania, i.
 293.
 Temple, The, Largo, i. 467.
 Temple Church, ii. 420.
 Temples, Primitive, i. 130, 149.
 Terraces, Agricultural, i. 492.
 Terregles, ii. 126.
 Ternavie, i. 83.
 Tiger, Cave, i. 28.
 Tiles, Floor, ii. 59, 459.
 Tiles, Roman, ii. 25, 59.
 Tin, i. 302, 306, 314, 375.
 Tin, Pig of, i. 308.
 Tin, Vessels of, i. 308.
 Tings, Law, i. 164.
 Tiree, i. 455.
 Thane Stane, ii. 233.
 Thomas, Captain, i. 67, 79, 113, 156,
 258, 265, 474; ii. 207, 368.
 Thomsen, C. J., i. 22, 23; ii. 311.
 Thor, Stone of, i. 158.
 Thor, Temple of, i. 158.
 Thor the Long, ii. 400.
 Thorfinn, ii. 203, 289, 374.
 Thorstein the Red, ii. 202.
 Thumbkins, ii. 516, 517.
 Thunder-stone, i. 179.
 Thurnam, Dr., i. 236, 261, 264, 294,
 414.
 Tiree, i. 455.
 Tongland, Parish of, i. 169.
 Tongs, Iron Forge, ii. 83.
 Tonley, i. 222.
 Top-o-Noth, ii. 92.
 Torcs, Beaded, i. 410.
 Torcs, Gold, i. 464, 472.
 Torcs, Origin of, i. 472.
 Torcs, Silver, ii. 131.
 Tormore Circle, i. 142.
 Torrebhlaum, ii. 461.
 Torregan, ii. 79.
 Torthorwald Parish, i. 44.
 Torquated Gold Ring, i. 455.
 Torture, Instruments of, ii. 517.
 Towie, Parish of, 195.
 Tracery, Scottish Window, ii. 427.
 Train, Joseph, i. 87, 105, 187, 220, 440;
 ii. 79, 124, 336.
 Transition, The Primeval, i. 27.
 Tranaby, Links of, ii. 302.
 Trarent, ii. 65.
 Trenches, ii. 114.
 Trefoil Brooch Clasp, ii. 305.

- i. 467.
 20.
 i. 130, 149.
 al, i. 492.
 59.
 59.
 375.
 8.
 67, 79, 113, 156,
 207, 368.
 23; ii. 311.
 3.
 58.
 00.
 374.
 202.
 517.
 6, 261, 264, 294,
 i. 169.
 83.
 0.
 72.
 72.
 2.
 i. 44.
 5, i. 455.
 of, ii. 517.
 5.
 ndow, ii. 427.
 105, 187, 220, 440;
 neval, i. 27.
 302.
 ii. 305.
 Trimontium, ii. 30, 49.
 Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, ii.
 423, 459.
 Tripods, Bronze, i. 411.
 Trochrig, i. 344.
 Tuack, Hill of, 417.
 Tudor Style, ii. 439.
 Tulloch, Bishop, ii. 196, 291, 457.
 Tullyallan Castle, ii. 500.
 Tullynessle, Parish of, i. 159, 209.
 Tumuli, Classification of, i. 64.
 Tungland, Abbot of, i. 333.
 Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, ii. 402.
 Turanians, i. 239.
 Turning-Lathe, i. 433.
 Tweeddale, i. 444, 508.
 Uig, Parish of, ii. 341, 369.
 Uley Chambered Barrow, i. 261, 294.
 Umbo of a Shield, ii. 128, 154, 304.
 Upper Dalachie, i. 457.
 Urns, i. 75, 77, 81. *Vide* Pottery.
 Urns open at both ends, ii. 127.
 Urns, Sepulchral, i. 416.
 Urquhart, Parish of, i. 470; ii. 149.
 Ursus spelæus, i. 30.
 Uyea, Island of, i. 205.
 Ure, Rev. David, i. 87, 440; ii. 125,
 127.
 Urns, Stone, i. 205.
 Urns, Triangular, i. 418.
 Urns, Glazed, ii. 119.
 Urus Scoticus, i. 203.
 Urus, the great, i. 31.
 VÆLUND. *Vide* Wayland.
 Valentia, Province of, ii. 29.
 Valkyries, ii. 387, 392.
 Veas, Stones of, i. 94.
 Vestrafiold, Cromlechs at, i. 94.
 Viga Glum's Saga, i. 445.
 Vitrified Forts, ii. 92.
 WADY MAGHARA Copper Mines, i. 316.
 Walay, i. 107.
 Walls, Parish of, i. 184.
 Walrus, ii. 229, 346.
 War Chariot, ii. 158.
 Watch Stone, Stennis, i. 154.
 Watling Street, ii. 57, 82.
 Watt, W., i. 201.
 Way, Albert, i. 25, 205, 359, 392, 453,
 487.
 Wayland Smith, i. 324; ii. 22.
 Weapons and Implements of Bronze,
 i. 378.
 Weapons and Implements of Stone,
 i. 153, 173.
 Wedding-Ring, i. 446.
 Weems, i. 107; ii. 368.
 Wemyss Castle, ii. 514.
 Western Isles. *Vide* Hebrides.
 West Kilbride, Parish of, i. 200; ii.
 267.
 Westbank, i. 214.
 Westray, i. 191, 451, 472; ii. 128, 267,
 301.
 Westwood, Prof., ii. 223, 229.
 West Kennet Long Barrow, i. 261, 264,
 294.
 Whales, Fossil, i. 33, 48.
 Whalebone Cup, i. 113.
 Whetstones, i. 190.
 Whig Hole, Altyre, ii. 114.
 White Cairn, i. 88.
 Whitekirk Parish Church, ii. 457.
 Whithorn Cathedral, ii. 189.
 Whitsome, Parish of, i. 418.
 Whorle, i. 219.
 Wideford Hill, Picts' House at, i.
 116.
 Wigtonshire, i. 45, 105, 127, 220, 405.
 Wild Beasts, Ancient, i. 30.
 Wild Boar, i. 31, 203.
 Wilkinson, Sir J. G., i. 2.
 William, Bishop of Orkney, ii. 291.
 William de Bondington, ii. 451.
 William the Lion, ii. 415, 416.
 Wilson, Dr. George, i. 373.
 Window Tracery, ii. 427.
 Witch Beads, ii. 534.
 Witch Stane, Cairnbeddie, i. 134.
 Witch's Bridle, Forfar, ii. 521.
 Witches' Stone Cromlech, i. 96.
 Woodcastle, ii. 89.
 Worsnae, i. 14, 21, 36, 315, 353, 358,
 362, 378, 395; ii. 15, 160, 307.
 Wood, Sir W., of Largo, ii. 515.

Wormeston, i. 100.

Woven Tissues, i. 475.

Wyntoun, i. 16.

YARROW KIRK, i. 483; ii. 211.

Yetholm, Bronze Shields found near,
i. 398.

Ythan, The River, i. 57.

Yucatan, Symbol of the Red Hand,
i. 356.

Yates, James, i. 387.

Z SYMBOL, ii. 223, 240, 257.

Zetland, Earl of, ii. 74, 75.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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, i. 57.
of the Red Hand,

37.

240, 257.
i. 74, 75.

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